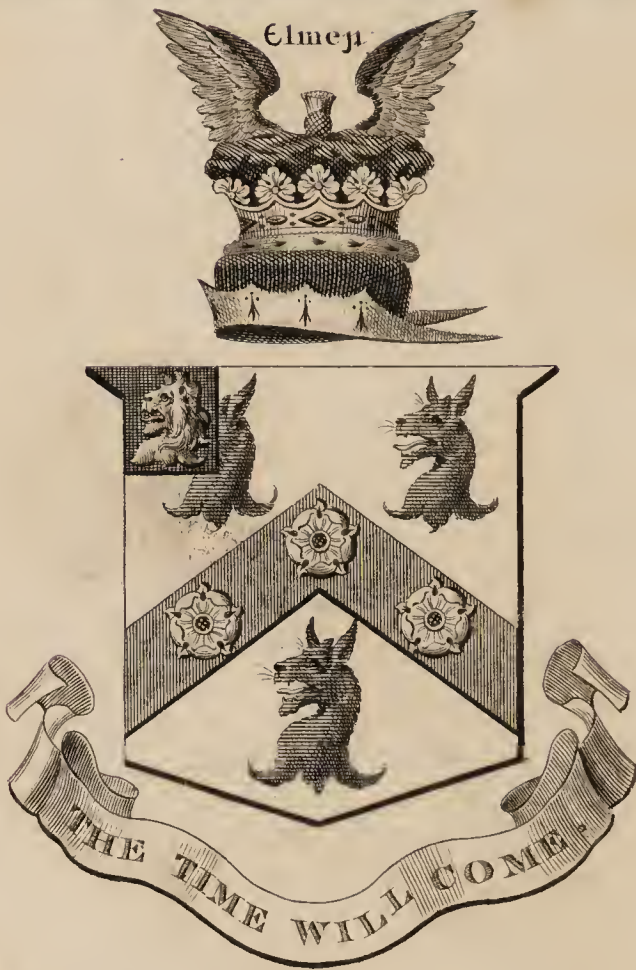


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Clark D.
Knedlington, Yorks.

Thos. A NEW *Revised*
SURVEY
OF
ENGLAND.

WHEREIN

The Defects of CAMDEN are supplied, and the
Errors of his Followers remarked :

The Opinions of our *Antiquaries* compared :

The Roman MILITARY WAYS traced ;

And, The STATIONS settled according to the
ITINERARY, without altering the *Figures*.

With some NATURAL HISTORY of each County.

By N. ^{*athaniel*} SALMON, LL. B.

In TWO VOLUMES.

V O L. I.

C O M P R E H E N D I N G,

| | | |
|------------|------------------|-------------------|
| KENT, | SUFFOLK, | NOTTINGHAMSHIRE, |
| SUSSEX, | NORFOLK, | RUTLANDSHIRE, |
| SURREY | CAMBRIDGESHIRE, | LEICESTERSHIRE, |
| MIDDLESEX, | HUNTINGDONSHIRE, | NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, |
| ESSEX, | LINCOLNSHIRE, | BEDFORDSHIRE. |

. To which is added,

An Examination of the *British* COINS produced in CAMDEN's
Britannia ; with the Foundation of a Conjecture, that they are
not *British*, but brought in by the *Romans* and the *Saxons*.

“Ον βειάξεων καλέσει θεοὶ ἄνδρες ὃ τε πάντες
Ἀἰθίων. —————

H O M.

L O N D O N: Printed for J. WALTHOE over-against
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A NEW
SURVEY
OF
ENGLAND.

WHEREIN

The Defects of CAMDEN are supplied, and the Errors of his Followers remarked :

The Opinions of our ANTIQUARIES are compared :

The *Roman* MILITARY WAYS traced ;

And, The STATIONS settled according to the ITINERARY, without altering the *Figures*.

By N. SALMON, L L. B.

To be Continued Monthly, or as often as conveniently it may.

PART I.

Comprehending KENT, SUSSEX, and SURREY.

"Ὁν βειάρεων καλέεσσι θεοὶ ἄνδρες ὃ τε πάντες
Ἀἰσίων.

H O M.

L O N D O N :

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INTRODUCTION.



N Attempt of this kind may seem too bold, and deserve the Censure it will meet with, if something be not offered in Arrest of Judgment. With Deference to those great Names that support the received Opinions, I ask Leave to produce their Disagreement with one another, and Deviation from the Imperial *Itinerary* ; At the same time owning the Improvement they have made upon one another a Foundation to future Adventurers.

The two Causes of what I take the Liberty to call Error, are, The Indolence of the Age of Monckery, which made no Enquiries, but took all Things upon Trust ; and the Fondness more discerning Men have shewed to Etymology, and to that sort of Etymology, which is founded in Similitude of Sound. The Esteem these had of the brave sagacious People, who civilized our Island, hath drawn them in to believe the succeeding *Saxons* maintain'd the same, and kept up the *Roman* Names.

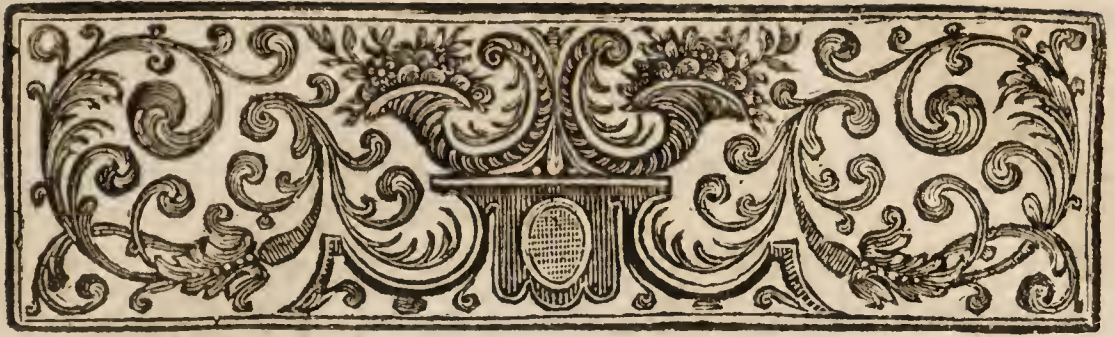
Nor can we call it a Purpose of those Invaders, to obliterate the Memory of our more antient Masters, who have *Ceasters* and *Boroughs* so frequent-

ly preserved. These have been attended to ; but where they are wanting, a kindred Sound, hath been embraced, to the Neglect both of Remains and Situation. And the *Itinerary* though the allowed Standard of Truth hath been blamed and new moulded to suit every Man's Project.

My Design I cannot think unacceptable, if what is promised be made good, if to Remains and Situation we can add Distance, and keep the *Itinerary* of our side. The Contention is not *pro Aris & Focis* : Yet considering how many Heads and Pens have been engaged, since the Esteem and Knowledge of Antiquities have prevailed, a nearer Approach to Truth, can't be reckoned a Trifle, without Disrespect to their Zeal and Labours.

The Charge of Innovation and Singularity will fall upon me, from none but the Indolent. It is a Freedom every one hath taken with those that went before him : And if there be any Man so thoroughly pleased with his own Scheme, as to think it wants no Amendment ; any that can't reproach himself of admitting Things upon such Evidence as he thought insufficient ; any that hath not wished for more Countenance from the Figures, let mine pass for a needless Undertaking.

The Reasons inducing me to begin with this Part of *England*, are these ; That it is the *Britannia Prima* of our first Geographers : That it is the Spot upon which the Whole was won and lost, upon the three grand Revolutions : That from it begins that famous Military Way, by the *Saxons* called *Via Vetelingiana*, by the *Normans* one of the *Chemini Majores* : And Lastly, That I would take my Rise upon undisputed Ground, where Authors, antient and modern, have best agreed, from the three *Ports* to *Canterbury*.



THE
ITINERARY
OF
ANTONINUS.

Where the Copies differ as to Numbers,
the different Figures are inserted.

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A NEW
SURVEY
OF
ENGLAND.

The COUNTY of KENT



S by the *Romans* named *Cantium*, a Word Latinized from a *British* or *Celtic* Origine. And that Word is by all Writers thought to express the Form of the Land toward the Channel and Continent, a Promontory or Corner. To confirm this, Mr. *Camden* hath observed there is in *Scotland* a Prominence of this kind called *Cantir*, and the *Cangani* inhabited an Angle of *Wales*. If we look into *Staffordshire* we have a Tract there called *Cankwood* upon the Brow of a Mountain jutting forward toward the *Trent*.

Mr. *Baxter* in his *Glossary* mentions some Copies of *Ptolomy* in which *Kent* is called Νέναντιον, *de Nucantiis sive novis Cantiacis Belgici generis*; and that

that the *Francobelgæ* use *Kant* for an Angle or Extremity.

Lambard's Derivation from its Verdure and Plenty of Wood, as *Caine* signifies a Leaf, will hardly be admitted, unless that were also meant of the whole Island of which this Part first appears to the Continent, but otherwise it would have carried with it nothing of a Distinction.

If we were left to our own Gueffes, and had not *Ptolomy's* Authority, we should have little Reason to conclude these *Cantii* or Men of *Kent*, as the *Saxons* call them, *Aborigines*. By them I mean the *Celts* or *Gauls* who first peopled the Island. For we may well believe this Country was new planted from the Continent about the time the *Belgæ* and *Attrebates* settled here. This Spot being as valuable in its self, and first in View to these new Planters, they doubtless first possessed it, and extended themselves along the Coast. And the Reason that this carried not the Name of its new Masters as well as the other, must be, that it had already the Name of *Corner* or *Prominence*, and its People sufficiently distinguish'd as *Corner-Men*. From the same Origine is the Name of the *Angli* generally acknowledged who inhabited *Jutland*, and are sometimes called *Jutes*, and sometimes *Saxons*.

At what time these new Men of *Kent* came first over, nobody will pretend to say. That they were here before *Cæsar*, we may safely enough conclude, because the *Attrebates* and *Belgæ* were. The Tradition of their coming, remaining with the *Britons*, gave perhaps Rise to the fabulous Relations *Geoffrey of Monmouth* has published of *Brute* and his *Trojans*. It was easie for the Inventor of that Fable to make it pass upon those who already believed a Part at least of the Island new planted. A Part I say, for *Cæsar* supposes the inland Country at his time peopled by the *Celts*. And whether
he

he received his Account from the *Gauls* upon the Continent, or from the Descendants of the new Planters, or from the inland *Britons*, nothing appears.

Tho' the Device is stoln from *Hunnibald*, who made *Francio* a Son of *Priam* Founder of the *French* Nation, the People upon whom it was put were already apprized of Strangers settling here. In this both the *French* and *Britons* have laid their Story right, to bring their first Planters from *Asia*, as the Language and Religious Rites common to both discover. But it's probable there was no more Cunning in the Contrivance, than Imitation of the *Romans* deriving themselves from *Troy*.

In Form, *Kent* is a kind of Oblong, and not much unlike to what is now called *England*. The Borders and Out-lines are much the same as antiently they were, towards the Sea and *Thames*, having the *Thames*, and its *Æstuarium* on the North, the Sea on the East and South-East: Only some Lands are devoured by the Sea, and again, some that were Sea made Land of the Sands thrown up by the Tides and Wind. On the South-West, it is bounded by *Suffex*, on the West by *Surrey*.

This at present is the Extent of the County, and was so fixed in the *Saxon* Times; but whether in the Time of the first Kingdom of *Kent*, or the Heptarchy, must be a Question. According to *Ptolomy*, *Londinium* is put into *Kent* as well as *Darvernium*.

Dr. *Gale* in his Commentary upon the *Itinerary*, though far from being positive, hath confirmed this of *Ptolomy* by probable Arguments. One is a Quotation from *Higden* describing the Course of the *Watling-street ad Occidentem Westmonasterii juxtâ Londonium ultra Tamesium per medium Cantii*. The same learned Author mentions the Lands on the *Surrey* side, being antient Demesne; the
Coins,

Coins, Tesselated Pavements, Bricks, Urns, and other *Roman* Remains, dug up in *St. George's* Fields.

To this may be added the Distance from *Verulam* to *London*, of Twenty-one Miles, according to *Antoninus*, which agrees better with the Station fixed on the *Surrey* side. Nor can we think of a Boundary so fit for the Possessors of *Cantium*, as the *Thames*. That part of *Surrey* West of *Lambeth* was Woody, and a proper Frontier. But the City of *London*, at least the Ground it may be supposed to stand upon, between *Lambeth* and *Southwark*, or perhaps including them both, can't be thought able to defend it self against the Power of *Kent*, having no Chance for Succours but from across the *Thames*: And therefore if it will not be admitted that *London* was in the antient *Kent*, of which there is Probability enough, *Southwark* and *Lambeth* must have been as not defensible by any neighbouring People.

The *Romans* had in *Kent* their Cities and Stations, and their Forts upon the Coast for Security against the *Saxon* Pirates. Some of these latter were also Ports, from whence their Military Ways began: Others had no Military Ways leading to them; at least no Remains of them are found, the Garrisons being probably conveyed thither by Sea. These Ways were made with great Labour, and preserved with great Exactness, by which they could traverse the Island, and march their Forces as they had Occasion. It does not appear that they had any but general Names for them all, as Military, Basilical, Consular, Prætorian. The *Saxons* indeed gave them particular Names, and reduced the chief of them to Four, tho' there must have been more besides the Vicinal ones, or we can't find any, to many of the Stations. These Four having in the *Norman* Times a Privilege above the rest, that

De pace quatuor Cheminorum, the Number hath been kept up till now, and the *Saxon* Names preserved. One of these, from the South-East to the North, beginning from the *Kentish* Shore, is called *Watling-street*: Another from South to East, is *Ermine-street*: A third from South-West to South-East, is called *Ikening-street*: The fourth from South-West to North-East, hath the Name of *Fosse*.

The *Watling-street* leads from the Land's End of *Kent*, through *London* to the North. It must begin either from *Ritupis*, *Dubris*, or *Lemanis*, and may from any of the three, since the Roads from all three meet at *Durovernum*. There is a direct, or almost a direct Way from these Ports to *London*, in the third and fourth Journeys of the *Imperial Itinerary*, where the intermediate Cities are only *Durovernum* and *Durobrivis*. There are mention'd in the second Journey, between the Port of *London*, three Cities or Stations besides, with their Distance from each other; so that there must have been a Deflection to the Right, or Left, for the sake of visiting these Places; and, as I presume, both to the Right and Left. These three are *Durolevum*, *Vagniacis*, and *Noviomagus*.

Which of these shall be called the *Watling-street*, it is not agreed, neither is it of any Consequence whether one or both. The *Saxons* seem to mean that which comprehends all the Stations, because they belong to the second Journey, which takes in the whole *Watling*, beyond, as well as on this Side *London*. By *Watling-street* the *Saxons*, without doubt, meant the winding Street, in Contradistinction to the other three, which are as direct as the Nature of the Ground they pass through will admit. The Name, I know, is by some fetched from the *Gathelin*, or *Irish-street*, *Gaiotblac*,
B
and

and *Gwydbelian*, and *Gaidelii*, signifying the People of that Country. But as the Intercourse between the *Romans* and *Hibernians* was none, and of the *Saxons* with them but little, and that the Street was continued through great Part of *Scotland*, there is little, beside Sound, to support the Conjecture. In fact, it is a winding Street, as is visible to any Man that will trace it: And this being admitted till we can derive it better, I suppose the Word to have that Meaning. We have in some Countries, the Word still in use. There are a sort of Gates or Hurdles made of green Boughs wound about Stakes, which we call *Wattles*. Or these may have been used in moory Land to lay under the Agger of Stones: But this Method being common to all, would not have enough expressed the Difference.

I begin with *Ritupis*, called also, *Rbutupia*, and *Portus Rbutupinus*. This was the chief of their Ports, on all Hands agreed to have been near *Sandwich*, or *Stonar*, but ruined long since by the Sea, except *Richburgh-Castle*, where the *Pharos*, or *Lapis Tituli* stood. This is the Place so often spoken of by the Poets, called *Rbutupinus Ager*, *Rbutupina Tellus*, by *Juvenal* the *Ostrea Rbutupina* are celebrated. The *Saxons* have it *Reptacester*, contracting the old Name, and adding their *Ceaster*, by which they always mean Roman Works. This Place is twelve Miles from *Durovernum*, and will be mention'd again when we come to the Ports.

About five Miles to the South-West, is *Portus Dubris*, *Dover*, by some Etymologists derived from the *British* Words that signify two Hills, or Rocks; by others, from such as mean *Aquæ Tractus*; and again from one that imports a Declivity. From the Remains of Roman Materials, with which the Church, and other Buildings, have been

been raised, we may conclude it to have been of Strength and Use in those early Times. A Part of their *Pharos*, or *Watch-Tower*, is still in Being, and enough of it left to make one believe the Structure theirs, notwithstanding the later Additions and Alterations.

The natural Strength of it was Invitation enough to those in whose Hands it hath been, to fortify it by Art, and to make it, as it was, impregnable to any Enemy but Famine, before the modern Inventions of demolishing were in Use. Its prominent Towers represented the Force of *Britain*, and stood a Terror to the adversary Shore. The Castle would contain rather an Army than a Garrison, supported and supplied the *English* Acquisitions on the Continent for many Years. This, from *Durovernum*, is at the Distance of fourteen Miles.

Eight Miles from hence, on the Coast near *Deal*, *Cæsar*, according to his own Relation, landed in his first Expedition. The Place he calls *Dola*, whence *Nennius*, and after him others, have thought *Deal* received its Name; *Dol*, in *British* signifying, a Turn in the Shore. From hence, on one Hand, is seen the moving Fortress of the *English* Nation, her floating Castles, which secure her Coasts better than fortified Towns and Garrisons, that eat up the Country they protect. On the other, we view the Traces of *Cæsar's* Glory, the great Master of War, subjecting *Britain* to a distant Mistress. It's true, the Remembrance of Spoils and Conquest is not of itself delightful, without the Advantages they introduced. Considering these, we may admit the Loss of barbarous Liberty sufficiently made up in being a Province improved and civilized.

Nor is it to the Dishonour of the *British* Arms, that they could not maintain their Ground against the Conqueror of the World ; greater than whom, History has produced none. He has been often compared with *Alexander*, as to personal Merit, Love of Learning and Generosity. And from *Plutarch's* Time, to ours, they have been both so much admired, that no Author has made so free as to assign either the lower Place. It has been objected in *Cæsar's* Favour, That the other Hero had only effeminate People, and undisciplin'd Crouds to encounter, not the fierce *Gaul* and robust *Briton*. And here it's justly question'd, whether there was any such Difference, whether the Discipline of the Western Clime, was not as defective as in the East, admitting their Courage equal : But *Cæsar's* Conquest of the *Roman* State, and subduing Veteran Armies led against him by Generals most knowing in the Art of War, supported by the fierce Assertors of expiring Liberty, must have been a harder Task, than ever the *Macedonian* had to struggle with ; except his Glory be eclipsed by the unfair and underhand Methods of Plotting and Proscribing. He that started *Hannibal*, as greater than them both, has some Reason of his Side, if his Conduct at the last would have borne a Comparison.

If we look at the Difficulties through which *Cæsar* made his Way, the Opposition he had at his Landing, the bold Struggle of the *Britons* after they were once beaten, and his hazardous passing the *Thames* from *Surrey*, we must stand amazed at his enterprizing Genius. He had neither *Gothick* Hunger to sollicit, nor *Punick* Revenge to spur him on, but a restless, impetuous Ambition, that was pleased with Opposition, and doated upon a Task for no other Reason, but that it seemed insuperable.

This

This active Spirit is in *Juvenal* beautifully expressed by its Likeness to the troubled Sea,

*Æstuat infœlix angusto limite Mundi
Ut Gyrae clausus scopulis —*

Great Part of our Species have some Grains of the same, which hurries them, in Contempt of Ignominy, Pains, and Death, to arrive at an End seldom worth the aiming at. Yet the Principle was implanted for noble Purposes, and rightly directed, is our brightest and most beneficial Ornament.

Our third Port, from whence is a Military Way to *Canterbury* yet remaining, is *Lemanis*. This Road is by the *Saxons* called *Stane-street*. The Name of *Lemanis* is differently derived by Authors. Some bring it from *Leming*, a Name for the Road that leads hither: Others from *Ptolomy's* *Καινὸς λιμὴν*, *New Haven*. It is, long since, destroyed by the Sea. Out of its Ruins *West Hythe* is supposed to rise. There is in the Neighbourhood of it, a little Village called *Lime*. This Port, 'tis agreed, was about a Mile beyond *Studfall Castle*, an old Work of great Strength, enclosing ten Acres of Ground on a Declivity. Some would persuade us, that the broken Walls are *Roman*, from the Number of their Bricks to be seen there, and the hewing the Stones, and cementing them after the *Roman* Manner. Many a Place that hath fallen to Decay, hath been rebuilt with the same Materials, which makes us suppose it in its original State. Yet if this were demolished by the *Saxons* whilst they only infested the Coasts, and were not settled, it must have been of *Roman* building.

As to the Name, some have fancied That it has at present, is but from its Ruins, from the Falling or Decay of a *Stadt*. I rather think it to be from the Name of some *Norman* Lord, who either possessed it, or repaired it. I find such a Man as *William de Stuteville*, mention'd soon after the Conquest; but not that he was Possessor here. *Hoveden* brings him for an Instance, that it was a Practice upon the Conquest, and after, to purchase Justice at an high Price. There was, it seems, a round Sum paid sometimes to obtain a Writ for the trying of Right; and to have a Cause heard before the King in his great Council, as was *de Stuteville's* Case. The Distance of *Lemanis* from *Durovernum*, is of sixteen Miles.

Durovernum is our next Station, where the Roads from the three Ports meet, and make one towards *London*. Thus far all Authors have agreed; but as to the next Stage, are divided, and under greater Uncertainties. Some Copies of *Ptolomy* have it *Δαρεβνον*, in the Translation, *Darvernum*. As to Etymology, the first Syllable, *Dour*, is, as others in this County, and the whole Island over, named from standing upon a River. Mr. *Baxter* derives the next from *Vern*, signifying a Sanctuary, and makes it *Fanum profluentis Aquæ*. And if so, if its first Name was owing to a Temple for *Celtic* Worship, it seems a Presage of its Christian Glory, and is verified in being the Seat of the first *Saxon* Christian Prince, and from his Time continuing the *Metropolitan See*.

To confirm this, the same Author brings *Vernometum*, another Station in *Leicestershire*, interpreted by a modern Poet, *Venantius Fortunatus*; speaking of *Vernometum*, a Town in *France*, and cites the Distich from *Camden*:

*Nomine Vernometum voluit vocitare vetustas
Quod quasi Fanum ingens Gallica lingua sonat.*

Where-ever our *Vernometum* stood, the Reason of its Name is pretty well supported. The above-cited Antiquary supposes it at *Borough*, or *Erd-borough*, in *Gartre* Hundred. In this he follows *Camden*, as others have followed them both. *Dr. Gale* confesses himself in Doubt, and affirms nothing, having nothing, he saith, but bare Name for it. Allowing *Leicester* to be *Vernometum*, as I have plentiful Proof of, though here I don't bring my Evidence, there we shall find the Reliques of *British* Sacrifices. *Dr. Stukeley*, though he makes *Leicester Rata*, tells us of a Place there called *Holybones*, where abundance of Bones of Oxen have been dug up; and these he calls, the *Exuviae* of their Sacrifices.

The present Name of *Canterbury* is from the Saxons, who called it the *Kentish Borough*, or *Borough of the Men of Kent*. The Britons called it the *City of Kent*, by Way of Eminence. It was the Residence of the Kings of *Kent*, 'till *Ethelbert* conferred it on *Augustine* the Monk, with the Royal Demesne, upon the Erection of the *Metropolitan See*. The Fruitfulness of the Soil, and other Conveniencies of its Situation, made it eligible: And whatever it hath suffered by *Danish* Depredations, was soon repaired. Many of the Materials of Churches, Castle, Walls, and other publick Buildings, are *Roman*: But the City was in greatest Splendor while the Monasteries flourished. None in our Island had such Patrons as either *Augustine* or *Becket*. The Riches of this Place are but guessed at. They are abundantly admired by those that have recorded the Crouds of Pilgrims, and the Openness of their Hearts and

Purſes. But they that carried off the Spoil, only knew how to value the Devotion both of *Saxon* and *Norman* Days.

They ſhew us *St. Martin's Church*, ſaid to have been built by the *Christian Romans*, before the coming of *Auguſtine*, the Place where *Bertha*, *Ethelbert's* Queen, had the *Christian Service*. She being of the *Royal Blood* of the *Franks*, came hither a *Christian*, according to the Relation of the Monks: And the Thing is highly probable, becauſe they told us ſo. For as they are never wanting to extol the Zeal of *Auguſtine*, in his hazardous Expedition to convert the *Pagan Saxons*, and the Piety of the Pope that ſent him, this paves the Way for him, and gives him greater Hope of Succeſs with the King, from the Opportunities *Bertha* had of being Advocate for her own Religion. *Luidhard*, a Biſhop, being allow'd her Chaplain, ſhews, the King could at leaſt tolerate *Christianity*, though he had not embraced it. It has been ſaid, that this *Luidhard* moved *Gregory* for this Miſſion. And from the kind Reception *Auguſtine*, and his Followers, met with from the King, and his ſo willingly permitting them to convert his Subjects, we have Reason to believe he was well diſpoſed to inform himſelf, and had already favourable Notions of *Christianity*. The ſlow Advances he made, guarded him againſt popular Inſurrections, which often follow ſuch a Change, though it be from the moſt fooliſh Superſtition. It made alſo, the new Religion appear with greater Advantage, that it was of the People's own chooſing: For Force hath made but few Converts, either for the better, or the worſe: Whereas Men left to themſelves, ſubmit to Perſuaſion from being allowed to have Judgment.

The King's meeting the Missionaries in the open Air, seems also to have been upon the same Foot of Prudence. It cleared him of any private Combinations with them. Had he apprehended any Danger of Fascination and Witchcraft, as was given out, how would the Air have protected him? Superstitious as the Age was, we can't imagine they thought infernal Powers could exert their Force within Doors more than without.

The Success *Augustine* met with from the Pagan Saxons, and the Want of Success from the Christian Britons, shews the Force of Prejudice. In the famed Conference he had with the *British* Bishops, and the Abbot and Monks of *Bangor*, we find them determined against receiving him; or the State he took upon him sitting in his Chair, could not have broke it off. The Compliance he required, being only keeping *Easter*, and baptizing after the Manner of the *Latin* Church, and assisting in the Conversion of the *Saxons*, could not otherwise have choaked them. The last Article of their Assistance, being desired to preach, shews there was nothing else in Difference that was material, or he would not have asked it: But they could not think well of any thing that came recommended through *Saxon* Hands. *Augustine* was become a Friend of the *Saxons*, who had stripp'd the *Britons* of all they had, and driven them into *Wales* to mourn their Fate. From a Friend of theirs, even Religion could not be acceptable, and Opportunity of exercising their Function; any more than the *Spaniards* Religion was to the *Indians*, whom they had plundered and dispossessed.

From hence we go to *Durolevum*, about which, Authors are at Variance; but if we take the Figures of the *Itinerary* for our Compass, we may, I humbly think, steer right. Mr. *Camden*, and
his

his Followers, who are almost all our Antiquaries, have placed it at *Lenham*, where they find a Consular Way. Upon this Scent he was willing to stick, having the Way for Evidence; and that it is a *Roman* Way cannot be disputed. The Stream too which it stands upon, would do for the first Syllable *Dour*; for where-ever we find it, we must have Water. This induced him to believe the Copiers in an Error, that have handed it down to us *Durolevum*; which, for Etymology-sake, he supposes should have been *Durolenum*.

Mr. *Somner* and *Burton*, have placed it at *Newington*, near *Sittingborn*, upon the Strength of Antiquities discovered there. But the Want of Distance, hath made their Scheme rejected.

Mr. *Camden*'s Emendation to *Durolenum*, is corrected by his *Right Reverend Annotator*, as done only to reconcile it to *Lenham*, and the Distance urged against him of sixteen Miles from *Canterbury*, which should be but twelve. The Annotations propose *Bapchild*, a Place between *Sittingborn* and *Offspring*, for *Durolenum*; this having been by the *Saxons* written *Baccanceld*, contracted to *Beckchild*, since corrupted to *Bapchild*. As *Dour* denotes Water, *Bec* in *Saxon*, answers that; at least, the Termination *Celd*, implying a Pool, will, in some measure, suit the old Name. But what is of more Consequence in this Matter, is its being, in the *Saxon* Times, a Place of very great Note; insomuch, that Archbishop *Brightwald*, *Anno* 700, held a Synod at it. Now it is a general Remark made by Antiquaries, that the *Saxons* particularly fixed upon those Places where the *Romans* had left their Stations; from whence, at present, so many of our Towns end in *Chester*. And even at this Day, here are the Ruins of two old Churches, or Chapels, besides the Parish Church. 'Tis confessed, here

is no Appearance of a Roman Road, if there ever was an *Agger*; it being worn out. The Distance from *Rocheſter* to *Canterbury* of 25 Miles (ſuppoſing *Rocheſter Durobrivis*) is urged, as reckon'd in the fourth Journey of *Antoninus*.

This is the Subſtance of the Proof upon which *Bapchild* is to take Place of *Lenham* and *Newington*. But, unleſs we make too free with the Figures of the *Itinerary*, neither will *Bapchild* answer in Diſtance. In the ſecond Journey, where we find our *Durolevum* between *Durobrivis* and *Durovernum*, the Diſtance is of ſixteen, and twelve Miles; whereas, in the fourth Journey, twenty-five only are reckoned. From hence we may reaſonably conclude, the Road from *Durobrivis* to *Durovernum*, to be one, when no intermediate Station comes in, and to be another when *Durolevum* comes between: And the Diſtance is different, becauſe the Romans viſited a Garifon, as *Durolevum*, which lay out of the common Road. That this was their Practice, is to be ſeen by comparing the fifth Journey with the ninth. In the fifth, from *Londinium* to *Cæſoromagum*, are reckoned but twenty-eight Miles. In the ninth, where *Durolitum* comes between, the Sum is thirty-one. If, again, we compare the ſecond with the eighth, we have from *Bennavenna* to *Magiovinium*, where *Lactorodum* comes between, twenty-nine Miles; where it's left out, but twenty-eight. But farther, when we come to *Rocheſter*, I hope to make it appear, that the Road from thence to *Canterbury*, lay not near *Bapchild*.

As the Caſe ſtands, it is free for any body to look for *Durolevum* elſewhere, the Evidence for the three Candidates, and for every one of them, being inſufficient. I go then to *Aſhford*, which lies twelve Miles from *Canterbury*, as it ought to do: And it is upon a Stream, which helps us to

Dour. It stands upon the *Stour*, and pretty near the Head of it, and hath a good Road to *Canterbury*. The *British* and the *Latin* Name, express the same thing according to *Baxter*. He makes *Asch* the Source of a River. And if we look at his *Levinodunum*, which he calls *Levingstow*n, we see it interpreted *Levis Annis Oppidum*.

To go on with Distance, it is to be from *Durobrovis* sixteen Miles, which I ask Leave to fix at *Maidstone*, till I bring my Proofs together, and no longer. *Vagniacis* I take for *Rocheſter*, nine Miles, as 'tis allowed, from *Maidstone*, and eighteen from *Noviomagus*; thence, ten to *London*. It is observed from *Noviomagus* to *Maidstone*, the Distance is of twenty Miles; if we try it to *Rocheſter*, we shall find it but eighteen, as saith our Rule. I presume then, the direct Way to *London* from *Ritupis*, or either of the other Ports, was by *Canterbury* and *Maidstone*. If *Durolevum* and *Vagniacis*, the intermediate Stations, were visited, it was by a *Diverticulum* to the Left and Right.

The Crime, though it seems heinous, of overturning an antient Scheme, which has had Possession till this Time, will appear quite otherwise, if two Things are considered. First, that the Honour of the *Itinerary* is hereby maintained; next, That we don't unsettle these two Places from their *Roman* Foundation, but only change their Names.

That I produce *Ashford* for a Station, without being able to shew Remains of Fortification, or the expected Evidence of Coins, may be thought trifling. To this it may be answered, If both these Proofs were to be had, or one of them, the Place would have had its Chance to be deemed *Roman* long since. Some Fortification it must have had, as it lies low, if it be what I call it,
since

since the other Cities or Towns in the County, of the like Situation, had. How they came to be raised, I pretend not to say. But as some Part of the Wall of many an old Town is levelled, so as it's not to be guessed at but by what is left, that which made the People destroy a Part in one Town, might induce them to do so by the Whole in another. For the sake of Gardening, or Ploughing, all this might be done; or for the Rebellion of some Possessor in the *Heptarchy*, or any other Time of the *Saxons*; or after the Coming of the *Normans*, it might have been dismantled, as has been frequently practised.

As to Coins, they are found in many *Roman* Towns, but many there are that produce none, or but few. Their *Æstiva* seldom afford any. The Custom of the *Romans* was to bury one sometimes in their Urns, by which it might appear what Emperor they served, or in whose Reign they were buried. But when we find them in great Quantity, especially those of Gold and Silver, we have little Reason to think them of *Roman* hiding. If we imagine them to be buried by the Soldiers, to prove they had been here, a few scattered about, would have answered that End, as well as Heaps at one Place. We should think it an odd Principle of a Soldier to squander his Money so. And it does not appear there was any publick Appointment for a Sum to be so employ'd. It would have been difficult for one to conceal them from another, if they had laid them by as Treasure, to dig up upon Occasion: And when they went off from *Britain*, they took their Leave, without Hope of returning. And if some Legions should have been sent hither again when their Affairs at Home were in a better State, how could they know they should be the same?

It is more probable, that what we find, except in Urns, was of *British* hiding. That the People, forsaken by their *Roman* Guard, and deprived of the Flower of their Soldiery, who were auxiliary to the *Romans*, and with them went off to *Armorica*, being afterwards harassed by the *Picts* and *Saxons*, hid their Money, which was *Roman* Coin only, when they were threatned by the Enemy. Mother Earth was their securest Bank, and if the Owner was killed, or died in Exile, the Treasure lay, till an accidental Plough or Pick-axe brought it to Light. It hath been found by digging Cellars so deep in the Ground, as no Man would have put it, that hoped another should have found it.

The Reason of Coins being chiefly met with in *Roman* Towns, seems to be, that these were the Habitation of the *Britons* afterwards. That they were well chosen, and well fortified by the *Romans*, and, for Convenience and Security, occupied by the other. We have also Proofs of Treasure found at private Places in the Country, where the *Romans* had no Garison, and which therefore, must pass for *British* hiding. If all the Places of *Treasure Trove* were to be reckoned up, the Argument would prove too much. We should have more Villages *Roman*, than at present we have Cities.

If the Soldiers had been the Hiders, we might have expected to find Heaps in *Scotland*, and the Borders, which we do not in any Proportion to what the inland Towns afford; there the Memory of them is kept up by monumental Inscriptions upon coarse Stone. If they had meant by it to perpetuate the Glory of their Arms, and the Honour of the Empire, they would have left us Coins of the earliest, as plentifully as those of the lower

lower Emperors. These were the most current Money, and, perhaps, they had a Mint here.

From *Ashford* we move to *Maidstone* for *Durobrivis*. My Labour is saved of proving it *Roman*, since all admit it such. The Distance, as it should be, is of sixteen Miles. The powerful Argument of a Consular Way at *Lenham*, upon which Mr. *Camden*, and others, have stuck so hard, appears now on our Side. For the direct Way from *Canterbury* to *Maidstone*, is through it, and the Remains of this *Agger* pointing to either *Terminus*, is fit to be weighed against the best Supports of the received Opinions. To which may be added, *Higden's* Authority for the *Watling-street* going through the Middle of *Kent*. To what other Use could this *Agger* of *Lenham* serve, but what we put it to?

The next Point to be attempted, is making *Maidstone Durobrivis*. In order to this, let us examine its Etymology, and how it comes to speak *Rocheſter* so plain, as to be universally admitted. These Towns stand both upon a River, and both upon the same River. *Dour* indifferently suits them both. *Chester* will suit either, expressing them only *Roman*. *Brivis* then must be malleable enough to produce *Ro*, and the Work is done. And here all depends upon the single *R*; for *O* came not very honestly into the Place of *I*. We forsake our best Copies, and admit *Durobravis* of *Rovennus*, and *Durobrevis* of *Bede*; and *Roibis* & *Durobrevia*, of the *Textus Roffensis*. These, at one Stroke, are hammer'd into *Durobrovis*. Next comes a *Saxon* Witness, with *Hrovibreui*, which, pronounced through the Nose and the Throat, may serve a great Lover of Etymology to spell it out. He was a great Master of Words and Syllables, that brought *Rocheſter* to this.

The most formidable Evidence, I confess, is what *Camden* hath brought from the Foundation Charter of the Cathedral Church, where it is written *Durobrovis*. This is taken from the Writings of the *Monks*, and means plainly *Rocheſter*.

It will be ſaid againſt us, If we take the *Monks* for Evidence in one Caſe, we ought to do it in another. And thus it is put as home as can be deſired. One Thing I muſt premiſe, which *Camden*, with his wonted Candour, has remarked againſt himſelf; That the printed Copies of *Bede* have *Darvernum*, where the Manuscripts ſay, *Durobrovis*. And the Print, we muſt believe, done after comparing Copies, and that the moſt and beſt, were *Darvernum*. So that *Bede's* Authority is at laſt reduced to nothing, and the Cauſe muſt be determined by what we can find elſewhere.

Without hazarding much Reputation, one may venture to ſay, The Authority of our Monks is as little to be eſteemed, as of any Set of Writers. They are, indeed, to be conſulted, but with Grains of Allowance. Some Hiſtory we are altogether obliged to them for, finding no Footſteps of it in Foreigners; and we muſt allow the Labours of many of them valuable. But if we remark their contradicting one another in ſome Caſes, and their Inconſiſtency with themſelves in others, when they compile their own Works, we ſhall be too ſanguine in following them every where. To this may be added, their truſting as they would be truſted; their taking Things upon Content, without examining; ſo that an Error of one Man of Reputation, hath had the Fortune to paſs unmoleſted till Time hath ruſted it into a Settlement, and to plead Preſcription againſt examined Truth.

It is a Satisfaction that here I need not bring *Bede* under the general Slander, any farther than making *Rocheſter*, *Darvernum*. At laſt, ſuppoſing the Manuſcripts to be genuine, and that *Bede* himſelf wrote it different Ways, this will prove the Doubt he was under, and that he was far from being poſitive of either.

Bede too muſt have little Notion of the preſent *Etymon*, if he was the firſt that mentioned the Name of *Roffa*, given to it by the *Latins* from *Rhoffus*. This *Rhoffus* I have ſome where met with as a *Dane* or *Saxon* that had poſſeſſed or pilaged the Town, and by that Means left his Name, as *Ciſſa* has done to *Chicheſter*. There muſt have been many Foreigners concerned here, if we reckon up all the Attacks that have been made upon the Place. The *Mercians* under *Ethelred*, are ſaid to have ruin'd it in the Year 670. The *Danes* to have ſacked it in 839; and to have laid Siege to it again in 885, when it was relieved by *Alfred*. This *Rhoffe* has been ſometimes written *Rove*, as in the endowing Charter of the Priory of *Royſton*, in *Hertfordſhire*, *Euſtace de Mere*, and *Ralph de Roveceſter*, purchaſed the Scite of the Monastery.

To part Friends with *Bede*, let Mr. *Camden*'s Quotation of him have a Place where he calls *Rocheſter*, *Caſtellum Cantuariorum*. For it might be a Fortreſs of the *Kentiſh* Men, as well as *Canterbury* was: And the miſtaking *Darvernum* for this, might be the Work of ſome Interpolator, for whoſe Elucidation the Author would not have thanked him.

Upon this Foot, and the over Diſtance from *Aſhford* to *Rocheſter*, I will call *Maidſtone Durobri-vis*, if nothing in *Vagniacis*, by which it hath been called, forbid it. *Vagniacis*, I queſtion not, is named from the River, as well as *Durobri-vis*,
C
from

from the *Wye*, called by the *Romans*, *Vaga*. In Latinizing the *British* Names, they seem to have lengthened the Sound by Way of Paraphrase upon the Gutturals of the Natives. This, at first, must have been *Vaganiacis*. The *Herefordshire Wye* is also *Vaga*. The *Saxons* call *Maidstone*, *Medwegston*, and *Medweageston*; which is no more than *Medway's-Town*. The first Syllable, in *British*, signifies *Pulcher*; so it may be the Town upon fair *Wye*, by Way of Distinction from the *Wye* of *Surrey*, and perhaps from that of *Herefordshire*.

If there be no other Meaning in it, why will not this agree with *Rocheſter*? the River is named in *Vaga*, as it is in *Dour*; what the last Syllables of either Name comprehend, I don't find any body has cleared. If we would have this River called *Vaga* from its wandering, as some have thought, it's a Property may be attributed to all the rest. But where do we find a Name, properly *Roman*, for any Stream in *England*? Are they not all *British* Names Latinized? It was not their Custom to invent Names of their own, but to take those of the Natives. Throughout the *Itinerary*, I remember few Names of Towns or Stations, that can be esteemed theirs. That *Ad Anſam* hath the faireſt Pretence, and *Villa Fauſtini*, and *Pontibus*. We find them sometimes mixing *Roman* with *British*, as *Cæſaromagus*. Nor are the Names of the Country given by *Cæſar* and *Ptolomy*, any other than of the Diſtrict of a particular People, or *Regulus*. As for that of *Regni*, I ſhall otherwiſe account for it upon *Suffex*. When they had indeed made their Settlements, they gave their own Names to the Provinces, as the *Britannia Prima* and *Secunda*, *Flavia* & *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, and *Valentia*. But
these

these related to their own Government, and the Extent of their Officer's Jurisdiction.

Maidstone is happy in its Situation, so as to have invited the Archbishops to build a Palace here, and one of them a Collegiate Church. It is still the Shire Town, and improved since the River was made navigable. At this Place the *Medway* receives another Stream from *Lenham*, which may, perhaps, have some Share in naming it *Durobrivis*, if the same Labour were employed to find it, as about *Rocheſter*. The Stand it made againſt *Fairfax*, ſhews, the *Kentiſh* Men kept up the Reputation of Gallantry, for which their Anceſtors were famed. They are allowed by thoſe that ſubdued them, the Character of ſtubborn Loyalty.

It gives the Title of Viſcount to the Earls of *Wincheſea*, who are Barons of the neighbouring *Eastwell*; a Place not to be named, without re-viving the grateful Memory of the laſt Earl, who was the Delight and Ornament of the Antiquarian Society; whoſe Judgment and Candour was admired by all that had the Honour to know him; and though his Name ſhould be forgot, his amiable Qualities will be the Standard of Eſteem and Reſpect, and challenge that Due which *Cæſar* gives the Country, *Qui Cantium incolunt longe ſunt humaniſſimi*.

Nine Miles from hence ſtands *Rocheſter*, in every Point meriting the Fame it has acquired. I need not aſk Pardon for the Change I have made, ſince I apprehend no Injury done. It is not, as I can ſee, degraded by being called *Vagniſiacis*. The Situation and Strength, the Honour of the See is by no means leſſened. Its Extent ſhews no more than a Caſtle. It never could have been a great Town within the Walls it hath. So beautiful and commodious an Harbour as is now under

it, would make one look for some *Roman Port* here, if Ships had been of the same Bulk in that Age, as now they are. But it's plain, their Vessels could ride in a shallower Bay, and might even be drawn ashore, as appears by *Cæsar's Sea-Camp*.

Hence we go to *Londinium*, at the Distance of eighteen Miles to *Noviomagus*, and ten afterwards, as our Rule is. In the more direct Way from *Durobrivis* to *Londinium*, we have but twenty-seven.

Here we set out, guided merely by our Compass, and can no more shew the Traces of the *Agger*, obliterated by Time and Clay, which supersedes Stones, than the Furrows a Ship ploughs in the Ocean, are discernable some Minutes after. No more than can be shewed between *London* and *Rocheſter*, and between *Rocheſter* and *Canterbury*. So that as to Remains, we are, in the Middle of *Kent*, upon the same Foot with others; that is, upon none at all, except *Lenham Road*, which, by our Method, is made use of, but of no Service to the other Scheme.

The Annotations upon *Camden*, choose to leave him here, and stick to *Phitpot's*, who places the *Noviomagum* of the Romans, at *Halwood-Hill*, in the Parish of *Keston*; in which they are countenanced by *Somner* and Bishop *Stillingfleet*, who judged it must be somewhere in *Kent*. *Somner* would have had it about *Welland*, or *Crayford*; and others, somewhere in the present *Dartford Road*. They observe the Place where Mr. *Camden* would have it at *Woodcote* in *Surrey*, is enormously out of Distance, being thirty Miles from *Maidstone*. Dr. *Gale* inclines to follow *Camden*, as not satisfied with any other Account given. And *Camden*, though he passed the last Part of his Life in *Kent*, probably never heard of this *Halwood*, or never saw it, or he must have forsaken his

his first Opinion upon the Proof of Distance, as well as Remains. The Camp seems to contain about a hundred Acres, situated upon a Hill, so as from one Side of it or other, the Country, for many Miles, may be descried. The Form of it is a kind of Oblong, and though a little rounded at three Corners, a fourth hath an exact Angle. It is double-ditch'd, and the Fortification remaining almost intire, only the Ditches are shallower, and the Walls worn something lower by Time and Weather. It hath been represented to have a triple *Vallum*; the Occasion of that Mistake must be from the natural Declivity of the Hill on the West Side, where the Earth without the second Ditch, lying between that Ditch and the Valley, is about the Breadth of either *Vallum*. The Roman Choice of Ground, is generally to face the South-East Sun, whereas the lowest Part of this Camp is towards the North-East. Perhaps the Convenience of viewing the Country from every Side, was here esteemed above the other. It is laid down by some as a Rule, that nothing double-ditch'd is *Roman*, against which we have abundant Experience. 'Tis possible *Saxons* or *Danes* have occupied the same, and added the second Ditch, Upon sudden Encampments, they might fortify singly, yet doubly where they made a Station. The principal Objection, I take to be the Largeness of it. As to this, there might be a greater Number of Horse than usual, to be ready to march every way, who take up much more Room than Foot. Or the Camp might, at first, be smaller, and enlarged by *Hengist*, as a Frontier to his Country. Or rather, that it was originally a *British Oppidum* occupied by the *Romans*; to which Conjecture, the Name gives some Countenance. In it are Springs, and below it, large Ponds. From the Middle of the West Side, runs out a

Line farther Westward, to which nothing thereabouts at present answers.

It is called by the People of the Country, *Cæsar's Camp*, and *Julius Cæsar's Camp*, a Name certainly taught them by some modern Observer of it. If we look for the *Roman* Original of it, we must have it in the Name of the Parish to which it belongs. That is *Keston*, corrupted, probably, from *Casterton*, or *Ceastreton*. This, of all the Places of the County, stands the most commodiously for *Castra Exploratorum*; it looks over great Part of *Surrey*, over *London*, and the inland Part of *Kent*. There was no need of viewing the Sea-Coasts, because of the particular Forts built there for their Security.

The Name of *Noviomagus* suits well enough with the Account of the Inhabitants already given. It seems formed out of the *New Comers*, or *New Men* of *Kent*. These are of course called *Britons*, as inhabiting *Britain* upon *Cæsar's* Arrival; but distinguished from the *Aborigines*, as the *Belgæ* and *Attrebates* were: So the *Magus*, or Town of the *New Planters*. We see the same *British* Termination in *Cæsaromagus*. These had Occasion enough for a Fortification against the antient *Britons* they had expelled. Hence they could see any Body of Troops moving towards them from a Part of *Surrey*, and from the other Side *Thames*.

The Right Reverend Annotator, leaves this, however, under a Difficulty, because *Maidstone* is twenty Miles from it, which, by the *Itinerary*, should be but eighteen; and *Londinium* is from it twelve Miles, which should be no more than ten. I take the Road that leads from *Farnborough* by *Bromley*, to *London*, and comes within half a Mile of *Halwood-Hill*, to be the *Watling-street*, and, indeed, the only Road the Romans had from *London* to *Kent*; and in the Course I have taken the

the Liberty to fix it, will answer *Higden's* Description of passing through the Middle of *Kent*. The main Objection then, lies from the over Distance that 'tis remarked this Place stands at from *London* and *Maidstone*. And this may be cleared by shewing, that these Miles at eighteen and ten, are no longer than usual in that Country.

It is therefore necessary to examine into the Original of our *English* Miles, and to find who were the People that fixed them for us. By Miles I mean the old computed Miles of *England*, which agree every where with the *Roman* Account, as far as I have seen, though in some Places they differ from one another; some Counties having much longer Miles than others. It is certain the Miles of *Kent* and *Sussex*, and those of the Counties on the other Side the *Thames*, 'till we come thirty-five Miles from *London*, are shorter than at a greater Distance: Not that they encrease the farther we go. Those of *Yorkshire*, and the North, have the Reputation of the longest of all. I find no great Difference between them, and any forty Miles North of *Thames*. If we go to *Warwickshire*, they seem as long there as in any Part of *England*.

It will then be asked, At what Time this Computation was made? and why this Inequality? If we say *Romans*, *Saxons*, or *Normans* were Authors of it, the Difficulty is still the same; no tolerable Reason appearing why any of the three should be guilty of so much Want of Exactness. The two latter may be cleared of it, because we find the Settlement before their Time, and as antient as *Britain's* being a *Roman* Province. For we find the *Itinerary*, reckoning according to computed Miles, as at this Day they are computed, where the new Device of Post Miles, and Excise Miles, have not taken Place. If we look for a

Reason why the *Romans* would do a thing so little agreeing with their usual Exactness, little is to be said, but that they found their Account in it: but that their first Settlements were about the *Thames*, and that they might alter their Measure afterwards, and increase the Value of their Miles, to put their Soldiers upon stronger Marches. We see at this Day, a third Rate Ship built almost as large as a second, which the Contriver found a Convenience in.

It must be resolved thus: That the *Romans* followed the antient Computation of the *Britons*, and this will best account for the Want of that Regularity so observable in all Appointments originally theirs. We find them following the *British* Names of Rivers, only Latinizing them: Also the Names of Countries, and Districts of the *Reguli*, whom they found here, only Latinizing them. And as the *Britons* were under different *Reguli*, their Weights and Measures might, for that Reason, be different, as we may observe they were amongst the *Saxons* afterwards. The *Angles*, *Mercians*, and *Saxons*, had their own Weights and Measures distinct from those of each other. Their Pound, Ounce, and Dram, were agreeable to the Usage of that Part of *Scandinavia*, or *Germany*, whence they came. And to shew the Prevalence of Custom, this Variety of Weights and Measures is kept up in *England* to this Day, some reckoning eight Pounds to the Stone, some twelve, and others fourteen. And *Winchester* Measure exceeds all the rest; which serves no other Purpose, but to confound Strangers, and to give Retailers Opportunity of selling by the least, though they buy by a greater.

The *Britons*, probably, reckoned by *Stadia*, and these might be more or fewer, greater or less, in one Country than another. The *Romans*
using

using their Measure, might have the Help and Intelligence of a *British* Guide, better than by reducing them to the Standard of *Italy*. Their *British* Auxiliaries, which made up great Part of their Armies, were best acquainted with the antient Names and Usages. And by keeping to Miles longer than *Italian*, there was not less, but more Work done. The short Measure of *Kent* and *Sussex*, might be owing to the Regulation of the new Planters from the Continent; or, perhaps, from its near Neighbourhood to *London*, always a considerable Port. This is still observed in *France*, that the Miles near *Paris*, are much shorter than when we come farther from that Capital. And that seems not to be accounted for by any body, since *Rabelais* hath pitched upon so ludicrous an Original of it.

Upon this Foot, we need not crave Mercy for setting *Rocheſter* and *Maidſtone* both at eighteen Miles from *Halwood*. The latter should be at least half a Mile nearer, to ſuit with the *Itinerary*, which, from *Durobrivis* to *London*, going directly, makes but twenty-seven Miles; going by *Halwood*, which is half a Mile from the preſent Road, it makes twenty-eight: And thus the neareſt Way that can be gone, will not be more than eighteen ſuch Miles as great Part of *Kent* hath formerly been uſed to. From *Rocheſter*, the eighteen ſeem to be ſtill ſhorter to *Halwood*. As the main *Kentish* Road from *Canterbury*, lay by *Maidſtone*, and half a Mile Eaſt of *Halwood*, we may ſuppoſe, the chief Care of the *Romans* was to keep that good. And that the vicinal one from *Rocheſter* to *Halwood*, being of leſs Importance, and leſs frequently uſed, it might be laid into the *Maidſtone* Road, ſome Miles before it reached *Halwood*, to ſave making and repairing two Roads throughout. That this was their Practice on many of their
Military

Military Ways, I can give Instances in other Parts of *England*.

From *Halwood* to *London*, the Miles may, by the same Rule, be reduced to ten of the ordinary Sort. He that travels the Ground between *St. George's Fields* (where both Authors and Remains countenance the fixing old *London*) and *Halwood-Hill*, will admit 'tis done in as few Hours as any ten computed Miles of *Kent*. Or he that takes a View of the City from the same Hill, will not think himself above ten Miles from it, notwithstanding the present reckoning of three to *Bromley*, and ten beyond to *London-Stone*.

There is still remaining from *Farnborough* to *Bromley*, and between *Bromley* and *New Cross*, the Appearance of a Roman Road, if we judge by its Breadth, generally of five-and-forty Yards, or more. From *New Cross* it is defaced by all that Building, Brick-making, and Gardening, so frequent about the Town. It seems to have pointed through *Camberwel* and *Walworth*, East of *Newington Church*, by the End of *Kynington-Lane*, to the Fields between *Lambeth* and *Southwark*.

The Romans, after they possessed *Britain*, were infested by the Piracies of the *Franks* and *Saxons*, who, from the opposite Shore, made a Practice of landing Men to plunder the Country, and go off to Sea with their Booty. For Security against these, they erected nine Forts; five of which stood on the *Kentish* Shore, and the rest to the East or West of it. These were under the Command of the *Comes Littoris Saxonici*, whose Ensigns were nine maritime Towns, upon the Form of the Island. He is called Count of the *Saxon Shore*, meaning the Coast from the West of *Denmark*, to the West of *France*: From whence he superintended here, and had his Gar-
risons

rifons and Governors under him. The *Notitia Imperii Occidentalis*, particularizing the Troops in Garrison throughout the Island, begins with those of the nine Ports. The Reason of the Order they are put in, is not visible. Had they been taken as they lay upon the Coast, it had been much easier to point them out: And it would have saved many a zealous Battle of our Antiquaries. We cannot, with due Respect to the Exactness of their Military, or, indeed, any other of their Establishments, charge it with Blunders and Confusion. The *Rationary* which *Augustus* began, and wrote with his own Hand, of his Revenue, his Magistracy, his Soldiery, his Disbursements, was, by succeeding Emperors, imitated and improved. So great an Account, for the Ease of him that kept it, could want no Care to reduce it to Method and Perspicuity. *Augustus* was as much employed in knowing the State, and providing for the Exigencies of these distant Provinces, as the first *Cæsar* could be in reducing them.

That which we have, is from the *Rationary* of *Theodosius* the younger, supposed to be after the Model of his Time, about the Year 410. For many had been the Alterations of Offices, Commands, and Places Names, from the Infancy of the Empire. The Order in which we find our nine Ports, is, doubtless, governed by some very good Reason. For want of Certainty, one may guess, they are enrolled according to Seniority of the *Præpositus*, or Precedence of one Legion or Cohort above another, of the Veterans to the New-listed, of the *Romans* to the Auxiliaries. Or it might be according to the Time of erecting these Forts; the first built might be first on the Roll, and so on. We might, indeed, expect to find those of *Kent* of the longest Standing, because
they

they lay nearest, and most exposed to Inroads from the Continent. But as three of the *Kentish* were Maritime Towns before, and Stations, they, perhaps, trusted to the Garrisons there for some time, before they found a Necessity of farther Provision. From the Remains we have at two of these, there is Reason to believe, the chief Use of these Forts was the *Pharos*, or *Arx Speculatoria*. Hence they could have a constant Eye upon the Enemy, and as soon as they were ashore, march out and intercept their Return to their Ships. For so dexterous were these Plunderers at their Sails, and their Oars, to make a Descent, and get off again, in less time than any regular Force could receive Notice from a distant Part of the Country of their coming.

1. *Præpositus Numeri Fortensium Othonæ.*
2. *Præpositus Numeri Turnacensium Lemanis.*
3. *Præpositus Militum Tungricanorum Dubris.*
4. *Præpositus Equitum Dalmatorum Branoducensis Branaduno.*
5. *Præpositus Equitum Stablesianorum Garianensis Garionono.*
6. *Tribunus Cohortis primæ Vetusiorum Regulbia.*
7. *Præfectus Legionis secundæ Augustæ Rutupis.*
8. *Præpositus Numeri Abulorum Anderidæ.*
9. *Præpositus Numeri Exploratorum portu Adurni.*

Of the five that are in *Kent*, Authors are pretty well agreed upon four. Those of *Lemanis*, *Dubris*, *Rutupis*, are, by Consent, fixed at *Lime*, *Dover*, and *Richborough*. There have been indeed some Disputes, but none at present.

Reculver, the fourth, North-East of the Isle of *Thanet*, is also admitted to have been a Port. And from its Ruins 'tis concluded to have been something more, a Town, or City antiently burned,

burned, as from the Rubbish that is washed down the Cliff, containing not only curious Pieces of Antiquity, but melted Metals, and some again run together, appears. The Countenance of the Fort, doubtless, encouraged a Settlement of Inhabitants, where they might be secure. And the Ground was so well chosen for a *Pharos*, that the remaining Towers of the Monastery, built afterwards upon the same Spot, are at this Day a Sea-Mark, and Rule for Sailors.

But for *Anderida* and *Portus Adurni*, there have been as many Claims, as for the Birth of *Homer*. And upon the Whole, the Majority of Modern Writers have allotted one to this County, the other to *Sussex*. Though they are far from agreeing upon the Place where they would fix one or the other. If all Things be duly weighed, I believe it will appear, that one of them is in *Kent*, the other in *Sussex*. But the *Sussex* one must be transferred to *Kent*, and the *Kentish* to *Sussex*, before we come at the Truth.

Here my Rule of Distance will be of no Service to me, and therefore I must ply the other of Remains and Etymology; these Ports which are merely such, not being in the *Itinerary*. The Chief of our Authors have guessed, for they call it no more than a Guess, that *Portus Adurni* was *Ederington*, three Miles from *Shoreham*, on the Coast of *Sussex*. For which Reason some have taken the Freedom to write it *Aldrington*, a Name expressing something antient. Mr. *Camden* is the first that pitch'd upon this Place, at least his is the first Conjecture I have seen about it. His Motives are, the Use of it, and some Remains of the Name of Port in the Neighbourhood. The Use was to keep off the *Saxon* Pirates. But if we consider at how great a Distance *Ederington* is from the *Saxon* Shore, we shall think it too far for a *Pharos*, the
rest

rest of them standing much nearer the Foreland of *Kent*, and nearer, if not in Sight, of one another. Besides, this Country lay more out of the Way of Pirates, who had Rocks without, and little besides Woods within, for their Prey.

Mr. *Camden*'s next Encouragement, is the Name of some adjacent Cottages called *Portslade*, which intimates a Way to the Port. This would be but to a Port in general, and not determine it to that of *Adurnum*. Had this answered to the *Stane-street Causeway*, from *Arundel* to *London*, as it would if it had stood at the Mouth of the River *Arun*, there would have been more Pretence to make it *Roman*. For this Reason, I presume, a faint Offer was once made to fix it there, and *Portus Adurni* supposed by Transposition, or it may be called Transmigration of Letters, changed to *Portus Arundi*.

With Submission, I would find it at *Old Romney*. That *Romney Marsh* hath been thus far Sea, and filled by the Tides, so as to be dry and good Land, since the *Roman* Times, Tradition, universally received, will bear me out. That when the Sea came up to it, 'twas well situated for a Port, will not be disputed. That *New Romney* is yet a Cinque Port, of which the *Old* is a Branch, and bound to find its *Quota* of Ships, when required, is allowed. That the Removal of the Office from the *Old* to the *New*, is not very material, which might happen upon the Haven of the former being filled up: And that every one of the other Cinque Ports have been *Roman*, would induce one to imagine this so too, especially since this of later Years could have been of no Service, and only famous for its pristine State. When we have no Reason given us why the Port of *Romney* was a new-erected Cinque Port, and all the rest
of

of *Roman* Foundation, why should we think this upon any different Footing from the rest?

It is also generally believed, that the River *Roder*, or *Rother*, for 'tis the same, and written both Ways, which parts *Sussex* from *Kent*, once emptied itself at *Romney*. And that its present Course by *Rye*, was upon stopping up the antient Channel by the Soil thrown up by the Sea. The *Britons* call *Odr* a Mere, or Mark of Division. And thus was the River the Divider of *Kent* from *Sussex*. The Article *Tr* being put before *Odr*, makes up the Sound of *Roder*, or *Rother*. We find it observed, that *th* and *d* are used for one another, which seems to be little more than dropping the *h*, the Sound of the other two Letters, before a Vowel, being near the same. There is another small River in *Essex*, called *Roding*, or *Rotbing*, which gives Name to eight Villages that it passes through. This may have been once a *British* Limit, though no Memory of it remains. There is on each Side of it, antient Demesne, which by the Stream may have been distinguished from the Lands of private Men.

If then at *Romney* this *Odr* emptied itself, and made a convenient Port, there will be no great Force in Latinizing *Odr*, to *Adurnum*. Then there will be a Settlement found for this Port, hitherto a Vagrant: And a manifest Reason why one of the *Romneys* is yet a Cinque Port, that it was such in the *Roman* Times. Its present Name is doubtless *Saxon*, and hath been *Romeney*, and *Romenal*. Mr. *Camden* wanting an Etymology, would have fetched it from *Rome's-Work*, or a Work of the *Romans*: But 'tis evident, the *Saxons* used *Ceaſter*, and *Burgh*, when they meant such a Thing. If I were bound to find one, it should be from *Merſe Warum*, a Place near *Kent*, which the *Mercians* plundered at the same time they plundered

dered *Kent*, Anno 795. It is called the Country of *Merse Warum*. And again, A Place called *Mers Warum*, where the *Danes* killed *Herbythus*. Mr. *Camden* translates *Merse Ware*, *Viri Palustres*, or *Fen Men*. *Warum*, by dropping the first Syllable, comes to *Rum*, as from *Hospital*, we have *Spital*. The Termination I cannot account for. The Town yet gives Name to the Marsh, or the Marsh to the Town.

Notwithstanding the Dismantling or Decay of many of these antient Fortresses of *Kent*, we are not to conclude it in a defenceless State, or lament the Diminution of its antient Glory. Its Harbour of *Chatham* provides for the Security of its Coasts, and is, since the Insult of the *Dutch*, itself secured from future Attempts, by Forts that command the Entrance of the *Medway*. Nor must the Hospital of *Greenwich* be forgot, the Reward and Sanctuary of *British* Valour.

In the *Weald*, or *Wild* of *Kent*, which was antiently all woody, I am informed by the Tenants, no Tythe-Wood is ever paid.

There is a Point upon which the *Kentishmen* are thought to be happier than their Neighbours. The retaining the Privileges of *Gavelkind*, lost almost over the rest of *England*, where it is said to have been in general Use. And that this is a Proof of their never having been subdued by the Conqueror, but that they submitted to him upon honourable Terms. The Honour of the Men of *Kent* was before well established, in their Claim to make the Van of the Army when they fought. And from this Honour so well established, perhaps, came the Story of *Rowenna's* Marriage with *Vortigern*, and his giving up in lieu of her, his Country to the *Saxons*.

They could not hear of being conquered by *Hengist*, and therefore rather chose to have the
Disaster

Disaster go upon the Mismanagement of one Man, than the Want of Courage in the People to defend themselves.

The Relation of the *Kentishmen* coming out with their Boughs to the Conqueror at *Swanscombe*, and there making Conditions for themselves, comes from no-body but *Spot the Monk*, and meets with no Credit from those that read *English History*, because they find it in no other Author. And, supposing it true, considering what the Conqueror stript them of, their Lands and Liberties, this was a small Consolation left them, if any at all: For this *Gavelkind*, at last, was but a Badge of Slavery imposed upon them by their former Lords. Mr. *Sommer* makes it an old and a general Word for Rent and Service; and makes it a Question amongst Lawyers, whether *Gavelkind* Lands could be deviseable by Will before the Statutes of *Hen. VIII.*

The chief of these Privileges are three. The Partition of Lands amongst the Males, if there be any; if none, amongst the Females. The entering upon the Estate at fifteen Years old, and Liberty of conveying it away at that Age. Lastly, The Exemption from the usual Forfeiture of Lands by the Felony or Murther which the Father had been guilty of. Whence the Proverb,

The Father to the Bough,

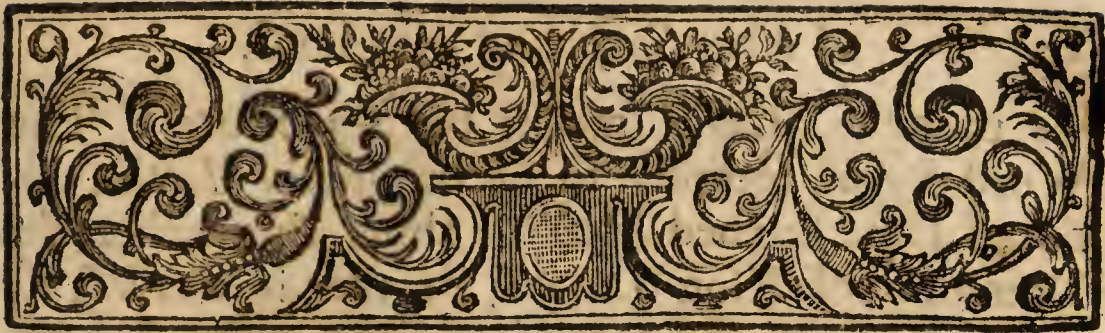
The Son to the Plough.

As to the first, 'tis a Constitution contrary to the Appointment of the wisest Law-givers, and most civiliz'd Nations, who have held Birthright in Esteem; and also contrary to the Law given to the *Jews*. A People used to this Custom, might with Reluctance part with it, and think themselves favoured by that Power that continued it to them. As it had the Name of a Privilege, it was desiræable, and introducing a better Rule of

Inheritance, would to them have been a Grievance and Hardship. As much might be said of *Borough-English*, where the youngest Son goes away with the Inheritance; where Habit only, supersedes Reason and Decency. This, though a Badge of Slavery, passes for a Privilege.

The second, The Power of succeeding to an Estate, and alienating it at fifteen Years old, can be thought a Benefit to none but such as would spend it before they arrive at twenty. In the first and the second, the Lords who made Laws for their Vassals, might find their Interest by a greater Number of Admissions than probably they would otherwise have had. How fond are the *Russians* of their antient Customs? with how great Difficulty driven out of them by the late *Czar*? An inconvenient Fashion of their Cloaths, in which they could neither work, travel, nor fight as other Men, was so dear to them, that all his Discouragements could not prevail to have them laid aside, till Force was used, and their long-tail'd Gowns cut off by an Officer as they entered the Gate of any Town.

The third may be sometimes a Benefit, and at other times a Snare. It may be a Benefit to a Family when the Man is made to take up Arms by Force. On the other Hand, the severest Laws that have been made to prevent Felony and Treason, have been thought a Benefit to Mankind, since they laid the greater Obligation upon every Man to continue in his Duty so guarded by Considerations of natural Affection.



A NEW
SURVEY
OF
ENGLAND.

S U S S E X



AT H its Name from the *South Saxons*, who, in the Time of the *Hep-tarchy*, possessed this County and *Surrey*. They lay between two powerful Neighbours, the *Kentish*, and the *West Saxons*. On each Side

they were distressed, and being weakened first on the *Kentish* Side, became an easier Prey to the *West Saxons*. Each may have gotten away some Part of their Dominions, before the *West Saxons* came to their Greatness; but *Ingulph* writes, That *Egbert* first subdued *Kent*, before he fell upon the *South Saxons*; and that is said to be after he had conquered *Mercia*.

The Name by which the *Romans* called these Counties, so much of them, I mean, as was not then reckoned to *Cantium*, was *Regni*. The same,
D 2 it's

it's thought, *Cæsar* means by *Segontiaci*. The Word *Regni* seeming to be originally *Latin*, induced some learned Men to think this either the Dominion of King *Lucius*, or that it was left by the *Romans* in the Hands of some petty Princes, who were tributary to them, and had the Name of Kings. But Mr. *Baxter*'s deriving it from the *British* *Rheng*, signifying, *Longus Ordo*, is more satisfactory; these People inhabiting the full Length of *Suffex*. And this Word, something softened in the Latinizing, might come to *Regni*.

The Figure of this County, consisting of six Divisions, known by the Name of *Rapes*, and lying parallel to one another, having the Sea on the South, on the North, *Kent*, *Surrey*, and *Hants*hire, something resembles one of those Laurel Leaves which are blunt at one End. Each *Rape* appears like the Interstices between so many Ribs of that Leaf, but not so oblique. It is about three times as long as it is broad. It is still very woody, and hath been more so. That Part of *Kent*, which by the *Saxons* was named *Weald*, is continued to it, running through to *Hants*hire, and in the Eastern Part of it, 'tis called, as in *Kent*, the *Wealde*, in the *British* Language *Andred*. In this County is a Variety of Woods, Downs, and fertile Land; the latter improved by great Quantity of Chalk fetched out of *Surrey*. Some Part of it is sandy, as *St. Leonard's* Forest, which is almost all Warren. The Roads in the Woodlands are very bad; but some Part of the County is delightful, which has always been inhabited by the Nobility and Gentry.

As to *Roman* Antiquities, there are here Remains of their Road swallowed up in Clay, and seldom found, but upon digging on some Account or other. There are also *Vestigia* of *Roman* Work

Work in some of their Towns and Camps. And one Military Way traced into *Surrey*, where it falls in with the *Ermine-street*. But there is no Station here, according to the *Itinerary*; so that those Places which were *Roman*, have no Name assigned to them, every Man, according to his Fancy, attributing to them one or other found in the antient Geographers.

One Place, indeed, there is, about which the World has been divided where to fix it, which seems to be this Country's Due, the *Anderida* of the *Romans*. This was a Port where, according to the Account we have in the *Notitia Imperii Occidentalis*, the *Præpositus numeri Abuleorum* had a Garrison. The Fortrefs has been long demolished, where-ever it stood. *Henry of Huntingdon* says, *Andredeceaster* was ruined by the *Saxons*, never rebuilt, but left desolate. Mr. *Camden* is inclined to fix it in *Kent*, at a Place called *Newenden*, on the *Kentish* Side the *Roder*: Because the Inhabitants have a Tradition the Harbour has been famous: Because it stands near *Andreds Weald*, from the *British* of which, is the Name *Anderida*; and because there was a considerable Town destroyed here by *Hengist*. Others are for fixing it a little farther off, at *Apuldore*. Mr. *Sommer* would have it upon the *Sussex* Coast, and guesses either *Hastings*, or *Pensey*, from the Evidence of *Gildas*, who places these Forts *in littore Oceani ad Meridium*.

Both *Camden* and *Sommer* have kept so far to Etymology, as to confine themselves to the Neighbourhood of the *Weald*. I can't see how *Newenden* ever could have stood *in littore Oceani*. If the *Roder* had his *Æstuarium* at Old *Romney*, or at *Rye*, where he empties his Waters at present, it was too far off for this to be allowed *Littus Oceani*. *Sommer's* was a well-chosen Situation, as

lying upon the Southern Ocean; and, what is more, within View and Communication with the other *Roman Ports*.

Etymology will determine *Hastings* to be the Place against *Penssey*, or any other, allowing that small Change which follows upon a Change of Inhabitants, unused to the most expressive Points of Pronunciation, familiar to their Predecessors. There has been an Opinion, that it took its Name from *Hasting the Dane*, who scour'd these Seas, and built some little Fortresses here for the Security of his Plunder, as he did at *Bamflete* in *Essex*, and at *Apuldore* and *Middleton*, in *Kent*. For this Relation *Camden* quotes *Asser*, and *Dr. Holland* finds him mention'd by the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*.

Yet a *Saxon* Original for the Name is more eligible, and this is *Hyrsting*. *Hyrst* is allowed to signify a Wood, as *Camden* himself has observed. Speaking of a Place near *Penssey*, called *Herst*, he says, *It stands amongst the Woods, and bath its Name from its woody Situation; for the Saxons called a Wood Hyrst*. This, he tells us, was the Habitation of some *Normans* upon the Conquest, who called themselves *de Herst* from the Place. And when *Waleran de Herst* took the Name of *Monceaux*, the Place was after him called *Herst Monceaux*.

If then in the Pronunciation we drop the Letter *r*, which, of Course, falls without keeping up that Vehemence which some Languages require; if we bring it to *Hysting*, the Difference is so little, as not to frighten the Adept in Etymology. We have an Example of changing an *i* or *y*, even in this Name, after the *Norman* Conquest. One that took his Title from hence, whose Arms were *La Manche*, wrote himself *Hastang*, and so it is spelt by the Heralds. Such a Corruption as
this,

this, we meet with, and admit every Day, which happened from softening the Sound.

Thus is *Anderida* fully understood in *Hyrsting*. And where the Nature and Properties of a thing are expressed, we have a fairer Chance for having come at the Original, than from the boasted Evidence of Similitude of Sound. Whether the last Syllable will be allowed only a Termination, as is common, or whether it may relate to some Meadow or Pasture joining to the Harbour, or near it, 'tis not very material. The Plain to which the Conqueror marched, near *Hastings*, after his landing at *Penssey*, might give the Occasion.

This great Man seems to have had *Cæsar's* Copy before his Eyes, which made him set Fire to his Ships. One Inducement might be, what is commonly said, to make his Army desperate: But as he, doubtless, thought of former Invaders, what advanced or retarded their Enterprize, would have its full Weight to determine him. He knew *Cæsar*, for want of an Harbour, suffered great Loss by a Storm. And when he had drawn his Ships ashore, and fortified his Sea-Camp, a Party of the *Britons* fell upon the Guard. He must have divided his Forces, and left some for the Security of his Navy. *Harold* might have got between the two Bodies, and cut off those that defended the Fleet, and burned it for him. *Cæsar* had more Disappointment with his Ships, than in any other Part of his Expedition, and more Difficulty in securing them.

Hastings is reckoned the Chief of the Cinque Ports, and hath *Winchelsea* and *Rye* under it; and where should we look for a Roman Port, but where something hath been considerable? But where great Men have thought it an Honour to have their Title from?

The Country Tradition of *Sanguelack*, is scarce worth mentioning, but to shew, that such Fancies get Possession of the Vulgar in more Places than this. The Author quoted for it by *Camden*, is *Gulielmus Neubrigensis*, who saith, The Place where was a great Slaughter of the *English* fighting for their Country, if it happen to be wet with a small Shower, sweats out real, and, as it were, fresh Blood, as if designed for a Memorial, that the Voice of so much Christian Blood doth still cry from the Earth to the Lord. We have in the East and Midland Counties of *England*, an Herb called *Dane Wort*, or *Dane Weed*, springing out of the Blood of those *Pagans*. And both these may be attributed to the Expectation of the People of seeing what *Neubrigensis* goes upon verified in a literal Sense, as if Vengeance could not pursue the Shedder of innocent Blood, without implanting Terror in the Path he goes. The little Credit Mr. *Camden* gave to this Observation, need not be repeated.

The next remarkable *Roman* Place in this County is *Chichester*, at present a Bishop's See, which was removed from *Selfey* upon the Coast, after the Conquest, upon the general Appointment that all Bishops should reside in great Towns. The City is allowed to have been built by *Cissa*, Son of *Ælla*, the first *South-Saxon* King. These were both *Pagans*. In the succeeding Reign Christianity was embraced, and flourished here. The Builder's Name is added to the *Saxon Ceaster*, which denotes it *Roman*. And he is thought to have gone upon the *Roman* Foundations.

An Inscription dug up here in the Year 1723, is a Proof of its being a *Roman* Town as early as *Claudius*. The Whole is explained and supplied by *Roger Gale*, Esq; Son to the late Dean of *York*, and Editor of his valuable Commentary on

on *Antonine's Itinerary*. It is to be seen in Dr. *Stukeley's Iter Curiosum*, Iter 7.

Neptuno et Minervæ Templum pro salute Domus Divinæ ex auctoritate Tiberii Claudii Cogidubni Regis Legati Augusti in Britannia, Collegium Fabricorum et qui in eo à sacris (or Honorati) sunt, de suo Dedicaverunt, Donante Aream Pudente Pudentini Filio.

Mr. Gale, from *Tacitus*, supposes this *Cogidubnus*, or *Cogidunus*, to have been a *Regulus* of the *Dobuni*, who submitted to the Romans upon *Britain's* being reduced to a Province, and to have had the Government of some Part of the Island conferred upon him.

Quædam Civitates Cogiduno Regi erant donatæ is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus remansit vetere ac jam pridem receptâ Populi Romani consuetudine ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et Reges.

From the Custom of the *Liberti* and *Clientes* taking the Names of their Patrons and Benefactors, he believes *Cogidunus* calls himself *Tiberius Claudius*. And gives Instances out of the Collections of *Gruter* and *Spon*, of the same Kind of Inscriptions from the Colleges of Artificers at *Rome*; as the *Fabri*, *Ferrarii*, *Lignarii*, *Tignarii*, *Materiarii*, *Navales*. Of the last Sort he thinks this *British* College consisted, because of the Dedication to *Neptune*, and its near Neighbourhood to the Sea. Part of two thick Walls meeting in an Angle just where this Stone was dug up, being discover'd, he imagines them to be the Foundation of the Temple.

Dr. *Stukeley*, who is very exact in the Description of the City, believes it to have been the *Mutuantonis* of *Ravennas*; or, according to *Baxter*, *Mantantonis*,

Mantantonis, standing upon the River *Antona*, now *Lavant*, which washes the Wall of it. His Account of it is to be seen at large in the fore-mentioned *Iter*.

This *Monk* of *Ravenna*, called *Anonymus*, may be sometimes of Use where he is not brought to contradict more established Authorities. His Method of naming Places is so imperfect; his skipping from the inland Country to the Sea-Coast, and from the Sea-Coast to the Midland again, makes it very uncertain whereabouts he is. If he mentions one, two, or three Towns by the same Name as other Authors, his Reader is again presently lost, not knowing whether to look for the next in the Neighbourhood, or forty Miles off. He is thought to have taken from some *Greek* Copy, kept for the Use of the Eastern Empire, by the many *Greek* Terminations of his Names. And as his Account is esteemed elder than *Antoninus*, we may suppose he frequently means the same Towns and Stations the other gives us, but by Names obsolete and forgotten. The great Difference between the Royal *Gallican* Manuscript, and that of the *Vatican*, is enough to discourage much Pains to find his Meaning. He, probably, has Respect to those deserted Camps the *Romans* at first used, but upon quiet Possession, held no *Æstiva* upon. Or they might change their Residence from one City to another, for Security or Convenience, long before the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*, the Time, as it's thought, of compiling the *Latin* Account.

The Roads from *Portsmouth*, *Midhurst*, and *Arundel*, to *Chichester*, are said to have been *Roman*. The latter may be easily believed, tho' the *Agger* be entirely trod into the Earth. Such good Proof there is of one from *Arundel* to *London*, though at present under Ground, and only chopp'd

chopp'd upon by accidental digging. This led from *Arundel* to *Darking* in *Surrey*, where we leave it 'till we come thither; by *Belingburt* in this County, to *Okeley*, and forward in the other, by the Name of *Stane-street*.

This *Stane-street* hath been curiously examined here, and found in some Places ten Yards broad, in others seven, and a Yard and Half deep in Stones fetched at some Miles Distance.

One may imagine the Foundation here defective, that, though in a woody Country, there was not enough of that laid under the Causeway. Our Roman Masters were doubtless Masters enough in the Art of making Causeways, and neglected nothing to render their Work durable. And had they continued their Possession, no Flaw would have been unrepaired: But the Weight of the Stones, in twelve hundred Years, might slip from under the Feet of the indolent Inhabitants, into a Grave, as well as they. The *Tranquilla Potestas* of Time may account for this, especially where the Earth is so soft.

The Road from *Chichester* to *Arundel*, but of a few Miles Length, might be laid into the *Stane-street* there. And though it came not into a Line before it reached to *Arundel*, thence it is direct to *London*. Though the present Way is by *Guilford*, and something nearer, the other must have been the Roman for the Advantage of the Causeway, and to save making another. The Camps of *Gonsbil*, the *Brill*, and *St. Rock*, may all have been Roman for the Summer Service. In *St. Leonard's Forest* rise both the *Arun* that runs thro' *Arundel-Rape* by the Side of *Stane-street*, and the *Mole* that hath its Course thro' *Surrey*.

Tho' nothing be left upon Record of *Arundel* higher than the *Saxon Times*, nor any Remains shew the Romans had a Settlement there, it could
never

never be that they should carry an *Agger* thither with so great Labour and Expence for nothing. Had *Chichester* been the Place to which it primarily led, it had been laid thither in a Line from *Darking*. And though all Memory of them be defaced, they must have been thereabouts. 'Tis possible themselves may have deserted and dismantled it, to settle at *Chichester*, as nearer to a Sea-Port, a more convenient Situation for their Maritime Affairs, and their College of Artificers.

Both *Arundel* and *Chichester* might be used as Stations upon their first Conquest of *Britain*, in the Time of the lower Emperors; when the *Itinerary* was new-modelled, they might find no need of Garrisons at either. Those of *Kent*, and their Ports as far as *Hastings* on one Side, might be found sufficient; that of *Surrey* and *Caleva* on the other. *Caleva*, just out of *Surrey*, must have been considerable, and one of their chief Places of Arms, and near enough to patroll between itself and *Hastings*. In the three last Journeys we find *Caleva* the *Terminus* of every one, which is more than of any other Station, except *London*: Which looks as if the *Comes Britanniae* had at some Times his Residence there, or some great Officer under him. Here he had an Eye upon the Western and Midland Parts of *England*, was ready to convey his Orders, or his Forces, upon every Emergence; and as *Warwick*, and some other, had the Name of *Præsidium*, *Caleva* must have been a Place of equal Importance.

The noble Family of *Percie*, continued to this Time in the Duke of *Somerset*, whose Residence is at *Petworth*, is, by Mr. *Camden*, derived from *Joscelyne de Luvain*, Brother of Queen *Adelize*, *Castellan* of *Arundel*, whose Family, saith he, descend from *Charlemagne* by a Series of Ancestors much less interrupted than either the Dukes
of

of *Lorain* or *Guise*. This *Joscelyne* married *Agnes*, only Daughter and Heir of the *Percies*, and his Posterity changed their Name to *Percie*, and have enjoyed the Estate ever since. Our Author informs us, that *William D' Aubeney*, Earl of *Arundel*, gave *Petworth*, and a large Estate, with the Lady to *Joscelyne*.

There was a Family of *Jocelyne*, which is the same Name that came in with the Conqueror, probably the same with our *Percie*. They descend from a Family surnamed from a Town in *Bretagne* called *Jocelyne*; which Town the Maps shew. *Alan* Duke of *Bretagne*, who commanded the Rear of the Conqueror's Army, brought many of his Countrymen in the Service. Amongst these, according to the Tradition and Pedigree of the Family, was *Gilbert Jocelyne*, Father of *Gilbert* who founded the Abby of *Sempringham* in *Lincolnshire*, in the Reign of King *Stephen*, and became Author of a religious Order called *Gilbertines*.

The Family have a farther Tradition that they are *Aborigines Britons*, which they bring a circumstantial Proof of from the Town of *Jocelyne* in *Armorica*. They believe their Ancestor one of the *Numeri* of the *Auxiliary Britons*, carried over by the *Romans* when they took their Farewel here, and by them planted in *Armorica*: And that they came over in *William's* Expedition.

The Descendant of this Family, *Thomas Jocelyne*, in the thirty-third Year of *Henry III.* settled in *Hertfordshire*, at *Hide-Hall*, in the Parish of *Sabridgworth*, in Right of *Maud*, Daughter and Coheir of *Sir John Hide* of *Hide-Hall*, whom he married. *Sir Strange Jocelyne*, the present Possessor, inherits it; whose Family hath had longer Possession than any other in the County. He bears, *Azure* a Collar of four Hawks Bells. Crest on

on a Wreath, a Falcon's Leg proper erased *Gules*. The Bearing may have been from some Estate held by the Service of keeping Hawks for the King, many Instances of which there are.

A Family in the District of the *East-Saxons*, where *Hide-Hall*, of the *East-Saxon* Division of *Hertfordshire*, stands, is *D' Autrey* of *Essex*, who seem derived from *Suffex*. The River *Arun* hath been in later Days called the *High-Stream*; and, according to *Camden*, a Knightly Family have been thence named *De Hault Rey*, and their Posterity *D' Awtrey*, as *De alta Ripâ*.





A NEW
SURVEY
OF
ENGLAND.

SURREY.



THE greatest Part of this County was at the Time of the Roman Division of *Britain*, reckoned into *Regni*. The present Name and Extent are both to be looked for from the *Saxons*. By them it is written *Sudrea*, whence *Suthbrey* and *Surrey*, meaning that Part of the *South-Saxon* Kingdom which lay South of the River, that is *Thames*. Thus the Church of *St. Mary Over Rhee*, or across the River, is named. We may observe the antient Pronunciation still kept up, that which is written *Southwark* being spoken *Sudrick*.

The Figure of it is a kind of Oblong, indented on the North by the Winding of the *Thames*, which is its Boundary on that Quarter. On the West lie *Hants*hire and *Berks*; on the East, *Kent* and *Suffex*; on the South, *Suffex*. These three

contiguous

contiguous Counties touch upon no other but on the Western Side, the Sea and the *Thames* being the Limit on all other.

The Air of *Surrey* is esteemed as good as any in the Island, having neither Bogs nor too large Woods to injure it, nor the inconvenient Neighbourhood of the Sea, which, in some other Parts, makes the Water brackish and unwholesome. The Hills, intermix'd with fruitful Vallies, afford a most agreeable Entertainment to the Eye. And the Dryness and good Turf of the Downs, invite to that Exercise which is as beneficial as the Clime itself. The Dirt and Enclosures of some other Countries, discourage this natural and necessary Means of Health, and furnish the Indolent with Excuses for treasuring up the *Fomes* of Gout and Stone, and all the Train of Maladies consequent upon ill *Secretion*. The Design of Nature's Production of Beasts and Birds of Chase and Prey, was to induce those that are not tied down to the *laborious Task of Bread*, to partake of that Labour that is requisite to the Well-being of human kind: To present it them in that agreeable Shape which suits an Appetite for good Reasons implanted, an Ambition to excel. Nor is this useful Principle ever eradicated; House Games and Amusements are followed with a Degree of Earnestness and Application equal to the strongest Exercise. Even getting Money hath the same secret Spring. The Sweet of that is not answering the Demands of Nature, it is not providing the Superfluities of Life, nor acting a generous and beneficent Part; but the Whole of the Enjoyment, if a Confession could be had, is but out-doing other Men. And this is extended even beyond their own Time. He that pinches his own Carcase, and sees thousands suffer by involuntary Hunger, can bear the Reproaches both of Stomach and Conscience,

science, to have it said by Posterity, He was richer than his Neighbours.

Our Country has been esteemed for the Bodies of its Men, Robust, and patient of Hardship from the voluntary Fatigues of their rural Entertainments. Our Ancestors had this Benefit, at least, from their good Neighbourhood, Hospitality, and Sports, that they knew Night from Day, a Distinction that may be lost for what they would not have reckoned an Equivalent.

A neighbouring Nation has been represented to us fond of Slavery, delighting in Bondage, and the Loss of Liberty. It does not appear this was ever their Choice, however quietly supported when it became habitual: But who ever condemned themselves to Prisons and the Rack? Who ever banished Health, the Salt of Life, for being an Enjoyment common to the Vulgar? Who had Courage enough to face a Weekly Bill, and take Post at the Mouth of so many Cannon as Death and Disease can furnish? What is a Palace that a Man can't go out of, but a Cage? What Beds and Seats of Down, where he hath neither Ease nor Sleep, but passes his Time in envying the Peasant on a Bed of Straw? What's the Use of a full Table to him, without an Appetite, but such as is raised by Confederates of his Disease, his Teeth too going upon Crutches?

This Reflection is not to be avoided upon the Downs, whence are seen the Magazines of Health and Sickness; on one Side the Cheerfulness and Beauty of the Morning; on t'other, the Fumes of *Pandora's Box*.

The Plenty of Country Houses *Surrey* affords, is very much owing to the Convenience of the *Thames*, whose Banks are inhabited on every Side. *Middlesex* hath its Share, *Essex* some, and *Kent* would have more, but for the Difficulty of passing under the Bridge. The Mineral Waters of *Ebe-*

Spain have made that Place frequented, and drawn a Concourse of those that retire also for Pleasure, being nearer the Town than those of *Tunbridge*, and better situated for Airing and Sports. The Course upon the Downs near *Carshalton*, is now almost neglected, for a new one laid out within three Miles of *Lethered*, in a more eligible Place, at least for its Neighbourhood to the Wells.

From *Arundel* in *Suffex*, we followed the Roman *Agger* above Ground, or under, to *Okeley* in this County, whence it leads to *Darking*, by *Stanc-street*, or, as some call it, *Stone-street*, which is for many Miles traced, and hath been seen, as is well attested, in *Darking Church-yard*, upon digging. Here it falls into the *Ermine-street*, which proceeds to *Londinium*. The *Ermine-street*, from the Sea-Coast to *London*, makes the seventh Journey of the *Imperial Itinerary*. The Continuance of it to *Venta Icenorum*, in *Norfolk*, from *London*, makes the ninth Journey. The seventh is where *Darking* comes in.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|
| From <i>Regnum</i> To <i>London</i> | 96 Miles. |
| To <i>Clausentum</i> | 20 |
| To <i>Venta Belgarum</i> | 10 |
| To <i>Caleva Attrebatum</i> | 22 |
| To <i>Pontes</i> | 22 |
| To <i>London</i> | 22 |

I go no farther here than this County; the *Ermine-street* then I follow from *Hantsbire* to *Farnham*, so to *Guilford*, then to *Darking*. There is a Ridge of a Hill from *Guilford* to *Darking*, which I presume to have been the Roman Way, and not that which at present is called the *Lower Way*: For they would choose that which would serve them in all Seasons, without being exposed to Floods and Dirt, and that which needed no Repairs. *Caleva Attrebatum* hath been placed at *Wallingford*, at *Henley* and at *Farnham*: the Favourers of

of all which Opinions, have placed *Pontes* the next Station upon some Passage of the *Thames*.

The Name, indeed, as Bridges with the *Romans* were scarce, and seldom used without Necessity, points to some great River which was not easily fordable. Against this may be weighed, that the Word is plural, and expresth more than one Bridge, which, in the common Course of Things, is more than one River wants, and more than is now to be seen upon the *Thames*, or mentioned, as far as I know, by any Author. If *Pontibus* will mean any thing else besides Bridges, I am not Adept enough to find it.

Next, I suppose, upon *Ptolomy's* Authority, and the above-cited Evidence on the County of *Kent*, that *Londinium* stood on the *Surrey* Side the Stream. And if so, the *Romans* would not have crossed the *Thames* once, that they might be forced to cross it a second time. But if this be questioned which Side the City stood of, it will not be denied me, that the *Agger* from *Arundel* comes in at *Darking*, and led over *Bansted Downs* to what is now called *Southwark*. I own there might have been a nearer Way from *Farnham* and *Guilford*, even to *Southwark*, by *Kingston*: But it was not their Method to multiply Military Ways where they might coincide by so inconsiderable a Circuit as that of two or three Miles, especially when they had a Station or City to go to. And if the City of *London* stood where now it does, the Road from *Arundel* and *Darking* was the same as the present.

Before I bring my Proofs to make *Darking Pontes*, I must observe the common Error of the Maps in writing it with an *a*; for it should be *Dorking*, as the Gentlemen of the Town assert. It was probably a considerable Place since the *Sussex* Road here fell in with the *Ermine*, and there was no other Station, either in *Sussex*, or

this County, at the Time of *Antoninus Pius* ; neither *Chichester* nor *Arundel* being at that Time reckoned such, nor *Walton upon Thames*. Here are indeed no Remains of *Roman* Buildings, none of their Bricks or Coins found in the Parish, tho' some of the latter not far off.

As to the Camp, or fortified Part, there may be seen a Piece of Ground lying close to the Military Way, very suitable to that Purpose. It is called *Cotmonden*, a green dry Spot of about 20 Acres, with a Descent from it every Way but to the South, and even there is a Ditch which parts the next Field from it, and may once have been deeper. This is an Oblong, famous in everybody's Mouth for a most healthful Air ; but whether in its natural State, or that the Declivity is owing to a Ditch once encompassing it, nothing appears. There is a Stream a Mile and half from it, at the Foot of *Box-Hill*, which the Road crosses; and whence, I imagine, the Name of *Pontes* came. 'Till about 17 Years ago, this made two Channels, and had two Bridges over it. The Water is now confined to one, and a single Bridge serves.

I should not fetch its Name from Bridges at such a Distance, if there were not very good Reason to believe there was antiently more than ordinary Occasion for them from the Nature of the River. One might judge it as easily fordable as other Rivulets, if it were not from the sudden Fall of Water that pours down here from the Hills after a great Rain. At a Ford, not a Mile below, in the Road from *Dorking* to *Lethered*, the Water was so deep for three Weeks this last *November*, that Horses could not pass. This River rises in *St. Leonard's Forest*, in *Sussex*, and is called the *Mole*, from a great Part of the Water sinking into the Earth below the two Bridges, and bursting out again near *Lethered*.

Some that give an Account of it, have wrote, that it sinks here, and the Channel is dry for three Miles, then it breaks out at three several Places, and continues its Course above Ground to the *Thames*. Others tell us it hath a Channel, and creeps along the Valleys, and is visible all the Year.

But, according to the best Information that can be had, the Channel is full in Winter, and dry in Summer, except there be great Rains. The Inhabitants, at some Times, observe the Water whirling about as it would do in a Tunnel, and then sinking into the Earth; and this at many Places. *Box-Hill*, and the other Mountain where Mr. Tryon's Warren is, consist of Chalk, as does the Valley between them, where the Stream hath its Course. In this Chalk there are many Cracks and Flaws which the People call Veins, thro' which the Water sinks. These have the Name of *Swallows*.

Some Authors doubt whether 'tis the same Stream that was swallowed by them, which rises again near *Lethered*. They say, the Water may have a different or contrary Course under Ground, and that the three Springs that bubble out of the Earth at *Lethered*, one of which immediately drives an undershot Mill of Mr. Moor's, and the three together require a long Bridge to pass over them, may be from a fresh Fountain: But, considering the Winter Channel joins them that came from the Foot of *Box-Hill*, it is more probable, that which was absorbed in the Passage, breaks out again above *Lethered-Bridge*, being obstructed by a closer Sort of Earth that will not admit it to pass as the Chalk had done.

By the Side of the *Mole*, and sometimes at many Yards Distance, the Earth falls in as if a Mine had been sprung. One is now to be seen in the Road near *Mickleham*. About three Years ago, a Man ploughing a neighbouring Field, the

Ground fell in under the Beam of his Plough, so that himself and Horses escaped. Some had the Curiosity to look down afterwards, and could see a Cavity, as they represent it, large enough to turn a Coach and six Horses. They fathom'd it with a Rope 30 Yards long, but could not come at the Bottom. No-body has been since hardy enough to make farther Experiment. This may be from the Water's washing away some of the lighter Part of the Soil, which, in a Tract of Time, may happen. The common Road lying between the River, and the Place where the Earth fell in, makes it a current Opinion, that the *Swallows* have their Meanders, and keep not a direct Course.

It is possible Accidents of this Kind have made the River remarkable, even when the *Romans* were Masters here, and that the Bridges then used, were particularly contrived to secure the Passage. At least, the Stream itself having so uncommon a Property, as to be absorbed and spouted out again, might give Occasion to name the neighbouring Station from it.

If I aim at an Etymology here for *Dorking*, upon which I do not myself so much depend, I hope to be excused, since the Worship of the *Celts*, upon which it's founded, is allowed by all Authors. I crave no Favour for writing it with an *o*, *Dorking*, because I am well assured it is not yet out of Use in Conveyances and publick Writings. There are two Villages in *Essex*, near *Tilbury-Fort*, call'd *Tburrock*, and one in *Hertfordshire*, named *Tkrocking*, contracted, probably, from *Tborocking*, which signifies an Oak consecrated to *Tbor* the Saxon Idol, whence our *Thursday*. That our Ancestors dedicated Trees and Groves to the Worship of their Gods, is plain from *Tacitus*, *Lib. de Morib. Germ. cap. 9.* *Lucos de nemore consecrant, cap. 39.* *Stato tempore in Sylvam auguriis Patrum & prisca formidine*

formidine sacram omnes, &c. Vide Lips. in Loc. Max. Tyr. Differt. 38. p. 458. Ἀγαλλία Διδς Κελικόν ὕψηλὴ δ' ῥῶς. Aventin. in Ann. Boiar. lib. 3. p. 187. *Nihil sacratius Quercu Majores nostri habuere: Nulla sacra sine hujus Arboris fronde conficere: Sacrificiis Epulisque rite sub hac Arbore perpetratis Deos adprecanti sunt. Viscum ejus, &c.* Gildas saith, they paid divine Honours to Mountains, Rivers, Fountains, Groves.

Supposing then, those that came after took the usual Liberty of pronouncing *D* for *Tb*, as frequently they did on the contrary *Tb* for *D*, the Name from *Thorocking*, might easily come to *Dorocking*, and thence to *Dorking*, for farther I am not concerned to carry it. The present Usage will justify me in believing sometimes a Vowel, sometimes a Consonant, altered in succeeding Generations, especially where Foreigners have come in, to whom, by a different Habit, some Sounds of a new Language have been uncouth, and consequently new formed.

If we were to search thro' the Island for a Place to perform the Religious Rites of the *Celts*, nothing comes up to the *Amphitheatre* of *Deepden*, adjoining to *Cotmonden*. I will not say there are any *Vestigia* of their Sacrifices, but the Place by Nature is so surprizingly contrived for Worship, or Theatrical Entertainment, as if it had been cut out of the Hill by human Hands. The Figure of it tempted the Honourable Mr. *Howard* to turn it into a Vineyard, and to grace it with all the Variety Planting and Gardening could add. 'Tis at present woody on the North Side to the Top, and, probably, was such antiently on the Concave Side. No *Druid* could see this Beauty neglected, nor doubt that Nature had formed it for the Adoration of the Deity, where Sacrifice might be performed with the greatest Solemnity, the Scene commanding the Veneration of the People, and the capa-

cious Theatre containing a greater Number than ever attended a Shew of *Gladiators*. On both Sides this *Romantick* Place, stand Hills of vast Heighth, and beautiful Aspect. *Box-Hill*, and that of *Mr. Tryon's Warren*, on the North; on the South, *White-Down* and *Lithe-Hill*. The last is by some thought the tallest in *England*, affording a View beyond the South Downs of *Sussex*, and of ten Counties besides. It runs East and West, as do the Hills in general from the *Weald* of *Kent*, to the Land's End. The East Point of *Litb* is the highest, from whence the Ridge sinks, and again towards the West is an Elevation.

What is said upon this being merely Conjecture, and without that Degree of Evidence we have generally for *Roman* Antiquities, I pursue it no farther, than that *Cotmonden*, by the general Voice of the Neighbourhood, is called the best Air in *England*. 'Tis much such an Observation should be made for a Spot of 20 Acres, unless something antiently had contributed to it. If *Deepden* was a Place of *British*, or *Saxon* Worship, some healthful Virtue might be imagined to overspread the Verge. If any thing be couched in the Name of *Cotmonden*, I shall be glad of the Discovery.

They tell us at *Dorking*, of a Project about 50 Years since, and not out of the Memory of the oldest, for cutting a *Hypogæum* thro' *Deepden-Hill*. It was to have been from the North Side, which lies next the Mansion House and *Beechworth-Castle*, and to have opened on the Concave Side the Hill, in what they call the Theatre or Vineyard. To this Purpose Labourers were employed, who had carried on their Mine from both Ends a considerable Way, in order to meet in the Middle: But for Want of Arch or Support, the Earth fell in near one End, which put an End to the Design. The Miners were come out to Breakfast, so that nothing but their Tools were covered.

At a Place called *Old End*, a Mile from *Dorking*, towards *Mickelham*, Coins have been found. There are many deep Wells, as they are called, which, perhaps, were *Swallows*. The Ruins of an old Chapel are visible.

Not long since, when a Channel was digging for the Miller's Stream, West of *Dorking*, a Pot of blueish Earth was taken up three Foot deep, but empty. It was broken by the Workman; he that preserved the Pieces faith, it would have contained about three Quarts, and was something thicker than a Crown. This Description answers exactly to the Urns of *Addington-Hill*, of which some Pieces are now kept at *Croydon* by a Surgeon.

The Design of cutting through *Deepden-Hill*, seems to have been in Imitation of that performed at *Albury* by the Duke of *Norfolk*. That came not to Perfection, a Stone Quarry lying in the Way.

In this County are mentioned several *Gates*, some of them *Towns*. As *Rygate*, *Newdigate*, *East-Gate*: The Lane that goes on the West Side of *Cotmonden* towards the South, has been called *Chargate-Lane*.

As the *Ermine-street* came from *Farnham*, a vicinal Way was struck out of it at *Guilford*, which led by *Ripley* to *Walton upon the Thames*. This is acknowledged a *Roman Camp*, but not a *Station*, having been laid aside before the Time of *Antoninus*. *Ravennas* mentions a Place by the Name of *Tamese*, in this Order.

Lemanis,
Dubris,
Duroverno Cantiacorum,
Rutupis,
Durobrabis,

Londini,
Tamese,
Brinavis,
Alauna.

It has been taken for *Kingston*, being to be looked for upon the *Thames*: But there is no more to be found, than that the Town hath been antient Demefne; that it hath had a Royal *Saxon* Castle, and a Situation on the River.

Tame again, a Town on the Edge of *Oxfordshire*, by which the River *Tame* runs, and leaves its Name, has been taken for *Tamefe*. Neither is there any thing *Roman* there, nor any *Vestigia*. And 'tis a Skip of 40 Miles, without any Military Way leading to it from any Quarter of the Country.

I have no Evidence to make *Walton Tamefe*, only propofe it to be thought of having a fair oblong Camp of a Dozen Acres, and ftanding upon the *Thames*, with a Military Way leading to it. It is, indeed, fo near *Coway-Stakes*, where *Mr. Camden* feems rightly to judge *Cæſar* paſſed the River to enter *Caffibelan's* Dominion, that at firſt Sight one might imagine it a Work of his: But, conſidering that would not have occaſioned a Military Way to it, and that the Military Way comes through *Guilford* thither, it is much more likely to have been one of *Vefpaſian's* Camps as he marched from the Weſt, or that the *Comes Britanniæ* garrifon'd it to ſecure the South Part of *Surrey*, and command the Navigation of the *Thames*.

As the *Ermine* leads from *Dorking* to *London*, having paſſed the *Pontes*, and aſcended *Box-Hill*, we have Downs to paſs over the greateſt Part of the Way. Between *Box-Hill* and *Banſtead*, after the *Ryegate* Road has fallen into it, there is a Line running croſs the Downs North and South, which looks like ſome antient Limit either of the *Britons* or *Saxons*. The broad and direct Way that led from *Dorking* over the Downs, is, before we deſcend the Hill, divided into two, the Left pointing to *Sutton*, the Right to *Carſhalton*. That of *Carſhalton*

Shalton seems to have been made by those that chose to keep upon the Downs, rather than pass thro' a Town. The Left we take to be the *Ermine*, which, tho' we call Left to distinguish it from the other, keeps its Line Eastward. A little below the Parting of these two Ways upon the Downs, are four Barrows together, but so sunk in, that one would guess a Number of Bodies buried under every one, not one single Man, as is most usual: or that some-body has dug them out of Curiosity, and left them in the State they are. At *Mitcham* these two Roads fall in together, and pass by *Stretham-Church* to London. *Stretham* hath its Name from thence.

It is observable, that neither of these Ways come near *Woodcote*, that *Woodcote* which is within ten Miles of London, the nearest being above a Mile from it. *Woodcote* hath been made the *Noviomagus* of *Antonine* by Mr. Camden, and by Dr. Gale. The Annotations upon *Holwood-Hill*, in Kent, speak of them as meaning the same *Woodcote*. Mr. Camden, in the Translation, saith, Two Miles to the South of *Wimbleton*, on the very Top of a Hill, is a little Wood called at this Day *Woodcote*, where are the plain Remains of a small City, and several Wells built of little Pieces of Flint; the Neighbourhood talk much of its Populoufness, Riches, and Number of its *Patricii*. He insists upon its being the *Noviomagus*, from its Distance of ten Miles from London, and eighteen from *Vagniacis*; which, both Dr. Gale and the Annotations, call thirty. The Annotations describe it as a pleasant Seat among Groves, much adorned of late Years, to which belong those medicinal Wells (*Ebesham*) that rise in the adjoining Common: And if so, the Place can't be within ten Miles of London.

Dr. Gale declares, He means the same with Camden, *Distancia X. M. P. a Londinio tam pulchre convenit*

convenit huic Woodcote Warren ut nihil obflare videam quin cum Camdeno, aliis aliter sentientibus hic statuam Noviomagum. And above, Fama inveterata et pertinax ait hic aliquando urbem sedisse. Favent isti opinioni hæc, vidi ibi plurima rudera, tegulas, ductus Platearum, fundamenta et saxa quadrata, puteos etiam multos et pene contiguos ad aquas hauriendas, profunditatis (ex uno de reliquis conjicio) incredibilis. Accepi etiam in fundo Sacerdotis (Glebam vocant) de Beddington Aratores sæpe in lapides politos impingere.

There is a Place called *Woodcote* in the Plain between *Croydon* and *Carshalton*, which stands about ten Miles from *London*. It is enclosed from the Fields, hath a House, Barns, and Outhouses, upon the highest Ground there. This almost joins to *Beddington*, where our Author observes, Foundation-Stones are dug up. By the Distance from *London*, and Neighbourhood of *Beddington*, one would have looked here for Remains; but as *Noviomagus* may be found in *Kent*, with Distances corresponding, we need not enquire farther. The other *Woodcote*, which stands above *Ebesham*, may have been a Town of the *Romans*: But the chief Reasons to support that Conjecture, are its being upon the Military Way, and the Remains of Streets, Buildings, and Wells. The Wells, to me, are the chief Inducement to think it *Saxon*, because I don't find the *Romans* made Choice of Ground that had not good running Water near. We find their square Wells in Forts and Castles which were for Defence of their Coasts: But their Towns are upon Rivers, and their *Æstiva* near enough a Stream to furnish them with what they wanted.

Supposing they had a Town or Manse there, it would be strange they should have no other Way to *Kent* from *London*, but by keeping the *Ermine-street* into *Surrey*, and then traversing the Country to *Maidstone*; to which Place, from *Woodcote*,

is

is no Trace of a Military Way. Tho' the *Watling-street* hath its Windings to go from Town to Town, or Camp to Camp, there is nothing to be found upon it like this; so extravagant a Circuit to visit no Place, and so dissonant to the Distance prescribed.

The fortified Ground about *Wimbleton*, and other Parts of this County, may have been occupied both in the *Roman* and *Saxon* Conquests: And it's hard to say who made the first Use of them, if they stand not upon a Military Way. The Camps of *Bottley-Hill* and *Katheram*, if both *Roman*, shew the Resistance the *Britons* made, and that the *Eagles* went on but slowly at first.

Addington-Hill, upon the Extremity of the County next to *Kent*, about four Miles from *Croydon*, and more from *Bromley*, hath of late Years produced Entertainment for the Curious. Some *Tumuli* of three, four, or five Foot Diameter, that looked like very large Ant-Hills, were dug thro', and under every one found an Urn, in some of which were Charcoal, which had been buried with the Ashes of the Dead. Pieces of some are now to be seen; one in Possession of a Surgeon at *Croydon*, made of blueish Earth, something thicker than a Crown-piece, which would have contained about three Quarts. This is just such another as that dug out of solid Earth at *Dorking* has been described.

From Observation of this Place, Light perhaps may be had where to look for more of them. If the *Tumuli* were of the Bigness they are represented, that is new; for it hath been a received Opinion, that either these Urns were placed a little Way in the Ground any where, or that they had large Barrows over them. The large Barrows are, in all Probability, *Danish*, the Bones of one Man lying under them, as has been found by digging, a Practice quite different from burning.
And

And these are seen most frequently in those Parts of *England* where History informs us the *Danes* have had their Battles. The Urns with Ashes, burnt Bones, and Charcoal, are found indifferently in great Towns, Gardens, Fields: And may have been upon a common Funeral.

But those of *Addington* seem to have been after a Battle from the Place they were discovered at. On the South Side, this Hill is fortified by Nature from every other Quarter of easy Ascent. From it we have a full View of *Holwood* Camp, and it lies but a few Miles off those of *Botteley-Hill*, and *Katheram*. The Place has very little that looks as if it ever had been fortified by Art. Some Traces of Lines are to be seen, which, perhaps, were no more than Fences to divide the Land. I am inclined to believe, this, being a Post of Strength, was occupied by the *Britons* in the Time of *Cæsar*: That from *Holwood* he came forward to *Coway-Stakes*, and had here an Engagement with the *Britons*: That he drove them from their Post with some Loss, and buried his Dead upon the Field of Battle. Had it been one of his own Camps, this could not well have been done, unless we suppose him beaten out of it by the Enemy: For this Unevenness of the Ground would have been incommodious in a Camp. Nor do we find any thing like it in any of their Camps. Or this might have happened when *Aulus Plautius*, *Vespasian*, or any other later Commander, fought a Battle with the *Britons*.

The Country hereabouts, hath little besides its good Air to boast of, except the Valleys. The high Ground, in many Places, is over-run with Heath, under which some few Plants are shaded, out of which the Sheep in Summer pick a Living.^o Even the Downs that have a fine Turf, will not maintain them all the Year, but the Farmers have been forced to buy Hay and bring from a great Distance.

Distance. The Improvement of Turneps seems to be here of the greatest Use of any, which supports their Store-Sheep, and fats the other. This has been a Practice in the sandy Part of *Bedfordshire*, about *Biggleswade*, above forty Years. From thence it has spread into many Counties near *London*: And the Sheep are brought up lean out of the North to be fatted there. It is agreed, the Compost which this Way the Ground receives, make the succeeding Crop of Barley much better: But after all this Improvement of Land, and Cattle maintain'd at a much lower Price, Mutton is hardly any Year cheaper than when it used to be fed with Grass and Hay: And no-body will say 'tis better. The Improvement must have some particular Way of Circulation, which the Consumer finds no Benefit in.

But of all the late Productions, the Rabbet-Woman's of *Godalming* is the most extraordinary. The Account, as unnatural and idle as it was, stood the Test a great while of the strictest Enquiry: And there must have been a Prodigy in the Easiness of learned Believers. What hath Nature done in other Respects, to be chargeable with such a *Lusus* as this? How has she gone out of her Way, to deserve the Imputation of so great Fickleness? Oysters, and Fish Bones, and Sea-Sand, found in a Hill, are accounted for by a Deluge. Fishes enclosed in Flints, are the Effect of petrifying Water. Subterraneous Timber is owing to Winds and Inundations: But where has Nature prostituted her Regularity, to countenance the Visions of the Splenetick, and Dreams of the Ignorant? He that said, *English* People believe every thing they hear, and nothing they see, might have been right, if he had not made it specifick to our Clime. The Enjoyment of Delusion is no less in other Quarters. The Observation of *Hudibras* is excluded no-where:

Doubtless

*Doubtless the Pleasure is as great
Of being Cheated, as to Cheat.*

Something there is in Indolence. The Labour of examining Things is greater than of submitting to Appearances. And something in Interest: Unsupported Opinions that humour a favourite Principle, meet a kind Reception even from good Judges. Education and Prejudice lays a Bias upon the Mind, and defends it against the Approaches of Truth: It gives the Colour to Good and Evil, and shews Things not as they are, but as they are grateful to us.

All comes to this, That we are pleased with Flattery, and practise it upon ourselves: That we indulge a Way of Thinking, because it suits our Habit or Complexion. To what else can we attribute the *Nostrums* of great Men, the wild and fanciful Creatures of their Brain, that are nursed and fostered to the Admiration of all but themselves? There may be a Benefit in this Reflection, a good Use made of viewing the Excesses of others, if it produce for theirs, generous Allowances, and Severity to our own.

The END of the First PART.



A NEW
SURVEY
OF
ENGLAND.

WHEREIN

The Defects of CAMDEN are supplied, and the
Errors of his Followers remarked :

The Opinions of our ANTIQUARIES are
compared :

The *Roman* MILITARY WAYS traced ;

And, The STATIONS settled according to the
ITINERARY, without altering the *Figures*.

By N. SALMON, LL. B.

PART II.

Comprehending MIDDLESEX, ESSEX, and
SUFFOLK.

Ὅν βειάξεων καλέουσι θεοὶ ἄνδρες ὃ τε πάντες
᾿Αἰσάων. —————

H O M.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. ROBERTS, in *Warwick-Lane*; and J. LEAKE,
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BEFORE I enter upon Middlesex, I must beg Room to add two Things to the Account of Kent.

The First is an Excuse for attributing the Discovery of the Roman Camp at Keston to Mr. Philpots, which was due to Dr. Holland. Mr. Philpots perhaps first thought of Noviomagus there ; but the other was so well assur'd of its being Roman Work, that he was inclin'd to find out Cæsar's Name in that of Keston, which more probably is from Ceaster-ton. It is a Misfortune to those that owe Respect to that Interpolator, that he stands out of the Way, and in a Corner. Every one to their Liking. For my Part, I own my self much edify'd by his Labours. His Diligence, Sagacity, and good Judgment have adorn'd the Text ; and I had almost called him a great Man, not only for the Justness of the Translation, but his Additions to the Work.

The Second Point, is to confess a Neglect in not reading the elaborate Performance of Mr. Harris upon Kent. So far had I lived out of the World, that I knew not there was such a Book. I have since gone through his Watling-Street, and the Stations he finds upon it ; and have this Satisfaction, to have asserted nothing that can look like taking from
F 2 *him,*

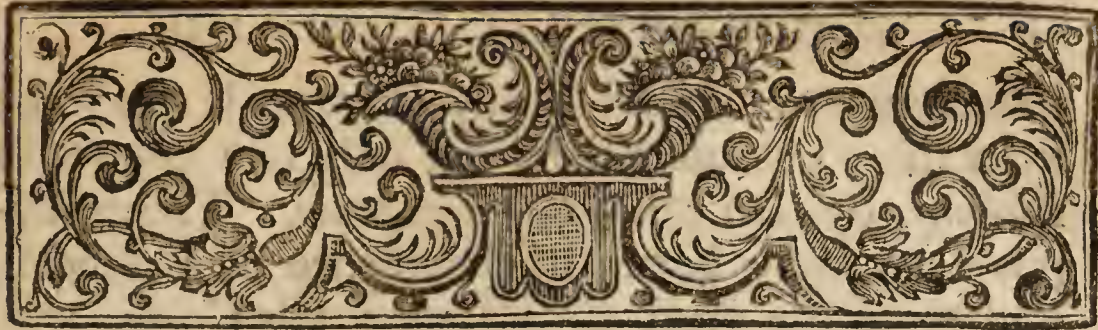
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him, without owning from whence I had it. That Author is so entirely upon the old footing, of carrying the Military Way according to, or very near, the present Post-Road from London to Dover, making Crayford Noviomagus, that I can't be suppos'd to have made any Thing of his my own. Speaking indeed of Keston Camp, which he had view'd, he calls it treble-ditch'd, as our late Writers do ; tho' Dr. Holland had represented it but double : as the Truth is.

The Keeness with which this Gentleman pursues his Game, and the Pleasure he finds upon every Hit he makes towards a Discovery of the Roman Way where I conceive it never was, may stand for a Warning to other Adventurers, not to be too sanguine. Our Hopes operate just as our Fears do. He that travels with Money, starts, as the Poet says, at the Shadow of a Bulrush ; and he that hunts after a Treasure of Knowledge, sees double. Every kindly Appearance passes for Reality, and tallies with the Imagination prepossess'd of what it looks for. An Alchymist is not more liable to Delusion than an Antiquary. 'Tis a Point gain'd, to call a Conjecture a Demonstration ; it is a Defence against Objections : For melior est conditio possidentis.



A NEW



A NEW
SURVEY
OF
ENGLAND.

MIDDLESEX.



IN the first Roman Division of this Part of *Britain*, the Inhabitants of *Middlesex* and *Essex* are called *Trinobantes*; by *Ptolomy* and *Tacitus*, *Trinoantes*. The latter Way of writing the Name seems to be owing to

the *Greek* Copy it was taken from. *Cæsar*, who gave the Name, *latinizing* that of the *Britons*, could as easily have wrote it so: His therefore is the more eligible. And the other is embrac'd for the sake of an Etymology, that carries no great Matter in it, expressing, The Inhabitants of a New Town. A Country that extends itself from *Buckinghamshire* to *Harwich*, would hardly take its Name from a single Town, tho' ever so famous; nor do we hear of any one in that District, except

Camulodunum. If from any Town, it must be from this; because this is the only one known to *Ptolomy*, by him call'd *Camudolanum*. This is suppos'd to have been the Residence of *Cynobelin*, Father of the great *Caractacus*: His Coins, with *Cuno* and *Taschia*, are allow'd.

In the *Saxon* Division we find *Middlesex*, *Essex*, and the Eastern Part of *Hertfordshire*, making up the Kingdom of the *East Saxons*. Mr. *Camden* brings its modern Name from its Situation in the Midst of the *East*, *West*, *South Saxons*, and the *Mercians*. But as the *Mercian* Name is by way of Distinction from the *Saxon*, that does not answer: And as itself was a Part of *East-Saxony*, it can hardly be said to be bounded on one Side by the *East Saxons*. The *East*, *South*, and *West Saxons*, are so called from their Scite as to one another.

There is not always a good Reason to be found for Names. We may as well take it from being, in some Sense, the Middle of the *East Saxons*; as *Essex* lies on one Side of it, and the *East Saxon* Part of *Hertfordshire* a little Way on the other.

Its Form is a Kind of Oblong. On the South it is parted from *Surrey* by the *Thames*; on the West, from *Buckinghamshire*, by the River *Coln*; on the East, from *Essex*, by the River *Lea*, and *Hertfordshire* is its Northern Limit.

The *Thames* is the most noted River of *Britain*, for the Commerce and Traffick it is subservient to with all the maritime Countries of the World. It is also of great Service for the Trade of the Midland Counties with their Metropolis, to which the Tide flowing sixty Miles, is a great Advantage no River of any other Country can boast.

There hath been a Dispute about the Situation of the *Londinium* of the *Romans*. *Ptolomy* has told

told us positively, that it stood in *Cantium* ; by which he means that Corner or Prominence of Land, which on the North, the East, and South is bounded by the Sea and the *Thames*, on the West by *Sussex* and *Surrey*. The Dean of *York* relies upon the Account given by the last mention'd Author ; and from the *Roman* Remains, so often turn'd up in *St. George's Fields*, believes that to be the Spot where the Station was.

Dr. *Woodward*, in a Letter to Sir *Christopher Wren*, publish'd by Mr. *Hearne* with *Leland*, declares for the *Middlesex* Side of the *Thames*. There are, doubtless, many Remains found on that Side which now bears the Name of *London* ; perhaps ten times as many as on the other. It will be granted by all the Followers of *Ptolomy*, that the *Romans* extended the City to the other Side, and made more use of it, because it was found more commodious for Traffick and Provisions.

The Right Reverend Annotator upon *Camden* takes Notice of Dr. *Gale's* Proofs from *Ptolomy* and *Ravennas* both. Indeed *Ravennas*, according to the same Author, hath placed *Londinium* on the South Side the River, and *Londinium Augusta* on the other. And the Dean observes, that he hath no where else mention'd the same Town twice. Whence we may conclude, it's to be found on each Side the River.

On the other Hand, Dr. *Woodward* is for giving up *Ptolomy*, as a Person who liv'd at a Distance, in a Country that had no Intercourse with Britain. That he hath committed no small Errors in his placing of Towns in Countries that were much nearer to him. He is for having the Matter determined by *Tacitus*, who had a most exact Intelligence of the Affairs of Britain, and was, of the two, somewhat the older Writer. So that if

London had been first built in Kent, and standing there in the Time of Ptolomy, it must needs have stood there in the Time of Tacitus. But that it certainly did not. This is plain, from the Account of the March of Suetonius Paulinus; and the Action of Boadicea at Camulodunum, her causing her Army to fall upon London and Verulam at once, and involve them both in the same Ruin. This is taken from a Letter to Mr. Hearn the Editor, prefix'd to that inscrib'd to Sir Christopher Wren.

The one of these we take as an Historian, the other as a Chorographer. The first meddles not with the Situation of Places, relating only Matter of Fact. The other professedly shews in what District they lie. And as to *London*, as the Dean observes, he is accurate, and hath examin'd other Authors, not delivering his Opinion *oscitanter*.

If *Ptolomy* should be mistaken in a Country whose Limits were not plain, where the Lands on one Side run out into the other, like an Indenture, as between several Counties is at this Day observable, it would be no Wonder: But where so considerable a *Terminus* as the River *Thames* was before him, he must have acted indeed *oscitanter*, to have fix'd his City on the wrong Side. Though the *Augusta*, or *New London*, were at the Time of *Suetonius* on *Middlesex* Side, *Ptolomy* may be still in the right. The Station might be at *St. George's Fields*, and the Town increase upon the opposite Bank, so as to be most considerable for Trade and Inhabitants. From the Time of *Tiberius*, or of *Claudius*, to *Nero*, there was Room enough for Increase of the City.

With Submission, I can't think, with the Doctor, the *Loci Dulcedo* of itself enough to decide the Case. What is there in the Air of the City better than of *St. George's Fields*, if Sweetness belong

belong to Air only? If the Sweet be interpreted, The Traders Gain, as the Historian describes it, *copiâ Negotiatorum & commeatû maxime celebre*, *Fleet-Ditch* and *Hockley in the Hole* may put in their Claim to Sweetness.

In this Author it can mean nothing but Affection to the Place, or Unwillingness to stir at the Approach of Danger. 'Tis brought in upon *Suetonius* going off with those that would follow him: *Si quos imbellis sexus, aut fessa ætas, vel loci dulcedo attinuerat, ab hoste oppressi sunt*. Alas! the Charms of a Place in which they could only expect to be massacred, can be found only in Weariness of Life, or Inability to remove, or in despair of getting out of the reach of the Sword. This Expression of *Tacitus* must not surely be the sole Umpire to determine on which Side the *Thames* was the Station; nor indeed to have any Share in the Determination. There is an Inclination to our native Place, and sometimes for no better Reason than that it was such.

*Nescio qua natale solum Dulcedine Musas
Attrahit.*

It does not appear to me that *Tacitus* will have it where it now stands, because *Verulam* was also ruin'd. His Words are, *Eadem clades municipio Verulamio fuit*. That might happen, though *Boadicea* cross'd the Water to *London*. It is not said to be at the same Time, or on the same Side the River. As to the Time, it's probable there was no great Distance. And it might have been within a Day's Time of one another, though the *Thames* were to be passed in order to it. This Account of *Suetonius*'s Motion is to be suppos'd of his own giving. 'Tis something confus'd, and the Truth perhaps in some measure conceal'd, for
the

the Honour of the *Roman* Arms. He came from *Anglesea*, or thereabouts, to relieve the *Veterans*, whom the *Britons*, under the Conduct of the Queen, had fallen upon. Through the Midst of the Enemy he march'd resolutely to *London*, and, notwithstanding the Petitions of the People, deserted them, carrying off with him a Number of their Men to recruit his Army. The Historian takes care to tell us, the Place was not honour'd with the Privileges of a *Colony*, that the General's leaving them to the Mercy of the *Britons* might not be reflected upon. He was resolv'd to profit by the Error of *Cerealis*, who had suffer'd himself to be furrounded by the Enemy, and losing all his Foot, was glad to get into Camp with his Horse. *Suetonius* indeed seems to have fled before the *Britons*, and however he got to *London*, could not think himself safe, till he had gain'd a Pass where his Front only could be attack'd. Here he trusted to the Goodness of his Troops, concluding, when he had broken the first Body of the Enemy, he could make his Advantage of that Confusion, and obtain a Victory, as he did. But how he got to *London*, thro' the Midst of the Enemy, it does not appear. His Way was from *Anglesea*, by *Verulam*, to *London*. And the Enemy, who had destroy'd *Camulodunum*, had not yet reach'd *London*. They fell upon *London* after his Departure, and then march'd on, we may believe, to *Verulam*. 'Tis probable he arrived at *London* before he had due Intelligence of their Strength, and then found it hazardous to give them Battle but where the Choice of Ground was his Security. For any Thing we have heard, he might go by the Way of *Surrey* to *London*, striking out of the *Watling-Street*, or that which was afterwards called so, and keep the *Thames* between himself and the Enemy. *Tacitus* gives us no Hint which Way he
bent

bent his Course from *London*. So considerable an Action as this, that defeated *Boadicea*, would surely have been told with all its Circumstances of Time and Place, if something of Truth were not, upon Design, conceal'd. By this he retriev'd the *Roman* Power, upon the Point of being extirpated. The Terror of the *British* Arms must have been great, when Seventy thousand *Romans*, or Auxiliaries, had been put to the Sword. The Battel, for any Thing we know, may have been in *Kent* or *Surrey*; and *Suetonius*, though possess'd of Old or South *London*, durst not make a Stand there, for fear a Body of the *Britons* should pass the *Tbames* at *Coway-Stakes*, where *Cæsar* first passed, or ferry over, and fall upon his Rear. After all, there seems not to me any coercive Evidence from *Tacitus*, in his Relation of the Affair, to determine the unprejudic'd to one Side or other.

One Thing is extraordinary in the Translation, that the *Roman* General should post his Army in a Place *accessable by a narrow Lane only*; *Diligitque locum arctis faucibus, & a tergo sylvâ clausum*. The Streight must be larger out of which he could push a Legion after receiving the Enemies Darts. The Streight of *Gibraltar* may be a Streight, compar'd with the *Mediterranean*. A Pass of five hundred Yards wide, may be a Streight, compar'd with a Plain.

It were vain to guess at the Scene of this remarkable Victory, by which *British* Liberty, almost restor'd, suffer'd a fatal Relapse, and the Survivors of the unfortunate Day paid dear for their Aversion to Bondage. But as we see daily the Remains of Camps and fortify'd Ground, the particular Use of which we have not been told, if their Situation be agreeable to the History of those Times, the Amusement of guessing may be pardon'd :

don'd : For no Man that hath read the antient Annals, can avoid comparing what he sees with what he hath heard, and bestowing his Verdict in what Age, and upon what Occasion, these memorable Works have been thrown up.

Supposing then the *Londinium* of *Tacitus* on the South Side the River, as every Man hath Liberty to suppose, till better Proof appears than hitherto has done, and that *Boadicea*, having ruin'd *Verulam*, pass'd the *Thames*, and fell upon *London*, from whence *Suetonius Paulinus* had retir'd ; 'tis not improbable he took the Post of *Holwood Hill*, in the Parish of *Caston* in *Kent*, and there waited the coming up of the *Britons*. That Camp is at present, within the Entrenchments, almost all Wood ; and without, to this Day, half-way encompassed with Wood. The Wood may antiently have been continued on the other Side the Pass that leads to the Camp, by the Pools and the Miller's House. And from this Pass is, between the Wood and the Pools, a Descent to the Plains, large Commons leading towards *Bromley*. From the West Side of the Camp is a Line drawn towards the Windmill, to which no other answers ; and which seems to have been of no other Use than to streighten the Passage up to the Entrance of the Camp : For the Ground bears nothing but *Erica*, and was never worth ploughing, by which the Parallel Lines could be defac'd.

This Guess may be the rather listen'd to, because this large and strong Camp, describ'd in our Account of *Kent* (*lately publish'd*) and there taken for the *Noviomagus* of *Antonine*, hath not been by any of our Writers accounted for. It is not allow'd to be *Cæsar's* Camp, from whence he pass'd the *Thames* in Pursuit of *Cassibelan* ; nor thought to have been fortify'd only for the *Exploratores* in after Times. The first is set aside, because

because of the Time it would cost to throw up the Works ; and that a single Ditch would have served the Purpose of a single Encampment, especially when he was victorious. The Objection to the latter is, That 'tis too large for one of their *Æstiva* ; which is taken off, by admitting it was fortify'd to their Hands by *Suetonius*, and that he would have spared no Labour to secure his Army against the just Dread they had of a numerous Army, and exasperated Enemy. This may have been an *Oppidum* of the *Britons*, both from the Situation, and the latiniz'd Name *Noviomagus*, But its Strength must be owing to the Fears of those that possess'd it afterwards, whoever they were. And in later Times the *Romans* might keep up the Fortifications for the Use of *Exploratores*, tho' larger than they wanted ; or encamp there Horse enow to fill it, rather than suffer such a Monument of good Fortune to the Empire to run to decay, from whence they might date a second Reduction of the Island.

The Form in which *Suetonius* dispos'd the Legion that was to fall out upon *Boadicea's* Army being that of a Wedge, is agreeable to the antient *Roman* Discipline. It was Part of the *Armatura*, or Exercise of Arms, mention'd by *Vegetius* and *Ammianus Marcellinus*. The *Campi Doctores* instructed the *Tyrones* in their Postures, and handling their Arms, one Part of which was the *Pyrricha*, or, *Scientia saltandi in armis*. This seems to be what is now practic'd in Fencing, Approaching and Retiring in Guard. And it might also take in an Art of stepping or sliding into close Order, and again extending the Front or Rear upon Occasion. There was also some Improvement in this Science, as the above-nam'd Author tells us, more than was taught the common Soldiers, such as Men of Birth and Distinction only were instructed

in,

in, and those that engag'd in the Front of the Legions. We see at this Day a Riding-House for some Regiments, which others have not. The Science of *Armatura* extended both to Horse and Foot. But the Discipline of the *Cuneus* was only amongst the Foot. There seems to be in it a Provision suddenly to supply the Place of every Man that dropt. The Front, that was to penetrate and divide the adverse Body, could immediately be reinforc'd by the next Rank, that was more in Number than the first; and so on to the Rear. Of this Order, according to the *Notitia Imperii*, was the Garrison fixed at *Olenasum*, named from *Herculius Maximianus* the Emperor.

Præfectus Alæ primæ Herculeæ Olenaco.

Whether the Urns of *Addington* Hill, four Miles from hence, which were mention'd in the Account of *Surrey*, make for the Conjecture of *Suetonius* engaging the *Britons* at *Caston*, or not, I shall not determine: The Distance seems too great from the Field of Battle. But how far that reach'd in Pursuit of a flying Enemy, who might sometimes rally, and cut off the forwardest, 'tis hard to say. The *Roman* Account makes near Eighty thousand of *Boadicea's* Company kill'd, which must take up much Time and Ground. And of the Four hundred of their own Men they acknowledge fell, some might be nearer *Addington* than *Caston*, whose Funerals might be perform'd together on that remarkable Eminence, and the Ashes of the Officers repos'd in those Urns.

The Account *Dr. Woodward* gives of the Urns discover'd after the Fire of *London*, and since, as well as the *Roman* Wall from *Bishopsgate*, the lower *Tire* of which, if I may use the Word, is still remaining, proves sufficiently it was possess'd by

by that People. It might very probably be the Work of *Constantine*. He has also very judiciously given Rules to discover its antient Extent ; the Places where the Urns are found, must be allow'd to have been without the first Wall. Their leaving off their Funeral Piles, and burying the Body in the Earth, may have been, as the same learned Author observes, introduc'd after their embracing the Christian Religion. There doth not, indeed, seem to have been any Superstition in their former Manner at which Christianity could be offended. But as the Reason ceas'd, upon which they first practis'd it, the Practice might do so too ; and at length they came to the most antient and natural Way, of committing Earth to Earth. It was upon the Increase of their Dominions, when they enlarg'd their Conquests, that their Soldiers Bodies, fallen in Battle, were dug up again, expos'd and mangled by the Enemy. To provide against such Indecencies, and to disarm the Malice of those that took such inhuman Revenge, this Method was effectual. There could be no Disgrace in exposing Bones burnt to Cinders ; no Clamour of the Relations of the Deceas'd, that their Bodies were a Prey to savage Nations. But when the World was their own, and they stood in awe of no Retaliation, they might drop this useless Security. There was, perhaps, an Intimation of the Transmigration of the Soul into a superior Region from the Funeral Pile. Though the Separation was upon Death, they had this Way of representing its Flight ; as appears from the Eagle's being let loose from the *Rogus* of the Emperors.

One Argument I take leave to urge, That the old *Londinium* was of the *Kentish* Side, and that it was esteem'd such as low as the Time of settling the Itinerary of *Antoninus*. Not that I demand a Re-
spect

spect to it as if it were a Demonstration, but leave it to the Unprejudic'd. The Itinerary calls *Londinium* Twenty-one Miles from *Verulam*, which it will not make, according to the antient Computation, unless we pass the *Thames*. And to justify that Computation, as the *Roman* Standard here, I refer to what hath been said upon *Kent*.

Let us next examine the Distance from *Noviomagus*, for Distance is my *Apollo*, and we shall find that answer on the South Side the River, which will not answer on the North. If this be call'd begging the Question, I desire my Opponent to shew any other Scheme that hath accounted for the Stations of *Kent*, with some Remains and all Distances corresponding. As for the military Ways I should trace in that County to support my Hypothesis, I am content to give them up to Time and Clay, except that of *Lenham*, which serves me, and no body else. Those that others have discover'd, about *Shooters-Hill* and *Crayford*, and between *Rocheſter* and *Canterbury*, give me no Pain, since nothing hath been produc'd but Gravel and neighbouring Materials, such as the Parish Surveyors afford. Nor should *Higden's* Reputation sink, for carrying it through the Middle of *Kent*, whom the Dean of *York* quotes. Let the *Monks* be despis'd when they are disprov'd, but not before. Let not their Indolence be corrected by ours. They wrote after one another, so do we.

Those that have taken upon them the Part of *Exploratores*, are the Men to whom we owe all our Discoveries. Maps and Reading are not sufficient, without *Inſpeximus*. And tho' the most laborious of our Travellers have not made out what they aim'd at, they have most of them improv'd upon their Predecessors in some Parts, and made the Way easier for others.

The Piece of *Fitz-Stephens*, publish'd by *Stow* first, now by Mr. *Hearn* from the *Bodleian* Manuscript, helps us to no Antiquities, except to that which is indeed too antique, the building of *London* by *Brute*, earlier than *Rome* by *Romulus* and *Rhemus*. The rest of it is taken up in a Description of the State of it about the Reign of *Henry* the Third. The Scite, the Air, the Religion, the Strength of the City are describ'd, with the Gardens, Fields, Forest, and Fountains. Then he comes to the honourable and warlike Figure the *Londoners* made, especially about the Time of King *Stephen*, the costly Cloaths they wore, and the Plenty of their Tables, not forgetting to compare their Women, for Chastity, to the *Sabines*. He mentions three Schools, and the Exercises of their Youth, disputing against one another in Philosophy, Mathematics, Logics, entertaining the Audience with Oratory and Poetry. These three he calls of antient Establishment, and privileged; others were allow'd by Favour. *Howel*, in his *Londinopolis*, makes these three belonging to three Churches; the first to the Cathedral of *St. Paul*, the second to *St. Peter's* in *Westminster*, the third to the Monastery of *Bermondsey* in *Southwark*. Next he treats of the Usages of the City, the Places of Buying and Selling, the particular Districts of Craftsmen and Manufacturers, the Houses of Entertainment, and others of elegant Living. Then comes *Smithfield* Market for Horses and fat Cattle, or another of the Sort; with the Diversions of Riding and Racing, and manly Exercise, suitable to an active and warlike People.

He speaks of the Sheriffs, the *Senatoriam Dignitatem* & *Magistratus Minores*, the Courts of Justice, with their stated Days, and the Sewers of the City. Then he commends the Observation of the Rules of the Church for the Honour of
G God;

God ; the keeping the Holidays, and Almsgiving, and Hospitality ; the good Order in which Matrimony and Funerals are perform'd ; and the chearful and neighbourly Feasts of the Citizens. He says the Bishops, Abbats, and Noblemen, are a Sort of Citizens of *London* ; having their Houses of Residence to attend the Council, or Parliament, or their Metropolitan, or their private Affairs.

From serious Things he comes to the Sports in Use, Plays and Theatrical Entertainments : And some of these it seems were serious. The Miracles of the Confessors were represented, and the Passion of Martyrs. I have been assur'd, 'tis still the Practice of *Holland*, to entertain the Sailors and the Vulgar with Shews of this Kind, by which they imprint on their Minds what would not otherwise be receiv'd so easily. They bring up *Pontius Pilate* upon the Tribunal, receiving Accusations, and giving Sentence ; and *Judas* is introduc'd in all the Acts of his Treachery, and hanging himself in Remorse.

Our Author now descends to the *Shrove-Tuesday* Pastime of Cock-fighting, beginning with puerile Diversions. Every Boy carries a Cock to his Master, and the Morning is spent in seeing those Creatures fight. Some *French* Author, by way of deriding this *English* Custom, saith, 'Tis the Practice of our People on that Day, *edere speciem cibi quam Frituras vocant, & postea pugnant cum Gallis*. The Custom is indeed barbarous enough, and whether of our own Growth, or brought in by Foreigners, I do not find, this being the first Account of it I have met with. But the *French* might speak of it with Indignation, since, perhaps, it was one of the main Ingredients to harden the Hearts of the People, and to enure them to that Eagerness of Combat, and Contempt of

of Bloodshed, that Nation hath so frequently experienced.

Whether there was a Jest in the Name, I will not presume to say ; nor whether the Custom of throwing at Cocks with Cudgels be as antient as the other. Perhaps they meant an Ovation in Memory of their *Gallic* Victories.

The Afternoon was taken up in other Sports. First comes Playing at Ball, which seems to be that which is still preserv'd in *Wales*, which they call *Tennis*, not in a Court, but on the Outside of a Church, or high Building ; not with Racquets, but their Hands. Then a Sort of Skirmishing on Horseback, in which the Dexterity of the Rider, and the good Training of the Horse was admired ; and they vied with one another. To see these feign'd Battels the Nobility came, and the King himself honour'd them with his Presence. There was all the Earnestness and Emulation imaginable. It seems to have been a Kind of *Tyrocinium* to Jufts and Tournaments. They had also their mock Sea-Fights, and Trials of Skill upon the Water. A Shield set up was to be struck at with a Lance. He that broke it, and kept his Standing, was the Man. If he miscarried upon his Stroke, he was frequently thrown into the Water, the Machine moving from him. But there were two Vessels attending with a Number of young Men in them, ready to save the Adventurer from drowning.

Something like this I once saw at Land, at the Solemnity of a Wedding, but forget the Term used for it. An upright Post stood in the Ground as high as a Horseman's Head ; on it was a Bar of Wood about nine Foot long, fasten'd to the Post with a Piece of Iron, but so that it would run round like a Turnstile. To one End of this Bar was fasten'd a heavy Bag of Stones. The other End was to be struck at by a Horseman

with the Point of an Iron Crow, which he held in his Right Hand by the Middle ; and he that broke a Piece off the Bar, won the Prize, which was a Wreath or Garland. This was put about his Horse's Neck, and he march'd off the Envy of the Beholders. The Antagonists took their Turns till one had done the Feat. They must do it swiftly, or the Stones struck them on the Back upon the Turn of the Bar. And if they miss'd their Stroke, they were in danger of coming down headlong by the Weight of the Crow. An Exercise fit to train Men to warlike Exploits, for they might almost as well have stood the Chance of a Battle. 'Tis pity the renowned *Butler* had not the describing these Things, that Posterity might be as well edify'd as by that of his *Riding*.

Other Holiday Exercises of the Youth were, Leaping, Bow and Arrow, Wrestling, Throwing the Stone, Coits, Cudgels. The Fair Sex had their Share in Dancing, and held it *usque imminente Lunâ*. If there were but a single Copy, would give it *Sole*, the Emendation would be applauded. Winter brought on its Entertainments also ; the Fighting of Boars, Bull-baiting, Bear-baiting, Sliding upon the Ice, and something like what the *Dutch* call *Skeating*, which they did upon the Ankle-Bones of some Animals fasten'd under their Feet, having a Staff pointed with Iron, by which they rest and are directed. Here were Races upon the Ice, and a Sort of Backsword with Sticks, which produc'd bloody Noses and broken Bones, the Eagerness of a feign'd Duel being equal to that of a real one. Some took Delight in Hawking with the Sparrow-Hawk and Falcon ; others Hunting in the Woods, *canibus militantibus in sylvis*. This Author asserts the *Londoners* had the Liberty of Hunting in *Middlesex*, *Hertfordshire*, and all the *Chiltern*, and in *Kent usque ad aquam*

aquam Grajæ. He is willing to allow his Citizens one particular Honour more than perhaps they have any Thing to shew for, that they were the Men that repuls'd *Julius Cæsar*, and have a Title to *Lucan's*

Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.

To conclude, he sets his *Brute* above *Romans* and every Thing else ; makes *Constantine* a Native of *London*, and so complaisant to the *Pope*, as for his sake to quit his Imperial City, and retire to *Byzantium*. He tells us of great Princes *London* has shewn, names *Mawd* the Empress, and *Henry III.* But the Joy of his Heart is the unparallel'd *St. Thomas Becket*, whom *London* had the Honour to produce. He was indeed Son of *Gilbert* Sheriff of *London*, was educated in the Schools of that City, and after he had finish'd his Studies at *Paris*, return'd and bore the Office of *Clericus & Rationalis Vicecomitum*.

What *Fitz-Stephens* and later Writers say of the Walls of *London* next the *Thames*, that they have been demolish'd by the Tides, seems to be a Mistake. So great or so continual an Inundation as would have carried them away, must have been recorded in History, and the Ruins of its bulky Materials been found in the *Thames*. I do not see to what Purpose any Wall should have been built on that Side : It would have hinder'd the landing Goods and Merchandizes at the Owners Yards. They must have been with great Labour, and Expence, and Confusion, carry'd through the Gates backward and forward, and brought round to the Places where they are now unloaded or put on board. The Remains that have been observ'd of this Wall, may have been no more than some decay'd Wharfing.

The River itself was a better Fortification than any of the Walls to the Land-Side. What could an Enemy do from that Quarter? Would not a Force drawn up upon the Wharf have a greater Advantage of the Assailants than from a Wall? Whence should the Enemy come to attack it? They could not at Low-Water march from *Southwark*; nor sail or row through the Bridge, without Danger of being sunk by Opposition from thence. And supposing them on the Shore at Low-Water, they must have a hard Task to gain the Wharf, if vigorously oppos'd; and if they fail'd, they had the Tide for an Enemy at their Back.

As to *Dowgate* and *Belingsgate*, the latter may have been within the Precincts of the Tower, and a forfeited Place, which at that Time could not admit of the Trade it doth now. That of *Dowgate*, *Camden* would derive from *Dourgate*, Water-gate, which is a Composition of two different Languages; nor does the Street that bears the Name stand near the *Thames*. We have on the *Lambeth* Side *Stangate*, and yet no body pretends there was a Wall on that Side the River.

Fitz-Stephen speaking of the Wall of the Tower, or *Arx Palatina*, saith, the Cement was prepar'd with the Blood of Animals. What Service Blood would be of in the Composition I am a Stranger to, if enough of it could be had. This he relates seriously; but one would imagine it taken from some poetical Description of a Fortress where contending Powers had many a severe Dispute, and spilt a great deal of human Blood. It is said of *Romulus*, that he founded his City, or cemented the Walls, with his Brother's Blood.

Much has been said about the Name *Londinium*, *Longidinium*, *Londunum*. The first of these hath been the most current both with
Ptolomy,

Ptolomy, Tacitus, and Antoninus. *Lhong-Dinas* in *British* will be *Navium Urbs*. Its standing upon so remarkable a River, is fully express'd in this Name of *Londinium*, and the Termination must be allow'd *Roman*. Mr. *Camden* is inclin'd to fetch it from the *British Llbwn*, which he calls a Wood; and so it might be the City in the Wood. But supposing it to stand on the *Middlesex* Side, and that *Diana's* Temple was where *St. Paul's* now is, we can't think the *Britons* would give this as a Name of Distinction, which really was none; for all their *Oppida* almost stood enclos'd with Wood. That sagacious Author therefore rejects this last of his own producing for the other of *Lhong-Dinas*, and maintains his Ground against all that have attempted the Etymology since his Time. As to King *Lud*, we have heard nothing of his Name, but upon this Occasion of finding one for the Town. That of *Sommer* from *Llaun plenus*, and *Dyn Homo*, as a populous Place, will hardly answer to its original State, when the Name was given. In *Cæsar's* Account it was not considerable enough for him to take any Notice of, which probably he would have done, if it had deserv'd that Name. He mentions his passing the *Thames* eighty Miles from his Landing, which is suppos'd to be at *Coway-stakes*, but not a Word of the Distance that Passage was from *London*.

Mr. *Selden's* of *Llan-Dien*, or the Temple of *Diana*, is founded altogether upon the Bones and Horns of Beasts dug up near *St. Paul's*, suppos'd to be the Remains of the *Druids* Sacrifices. I believe it will not be found that the Pagan *Britons* called the Places of their Sacrifice *Llan*; but that the Name was appropriated to a Place of Divine Worship after Christianity came in: For *Llan*, as those skill'd in the Language say, signifies no more than an Enclosure, and that it is meant

chiefly, if not solely, of the Churchyard enclos'd from the adjacent Ground. In present Use it goes in *Wales* for a Church, and cannot be meant of the Churchyard. The *Llan* of such a Saint, the *Llan* of the *Angel* is the Church of *St. Michael*; and most of the Parishes in some Counties are named from the Saint to whom the Church is dedicated. It hath been thought that the first Christian Church of *St. Paul*, was built upon the Scite of *Diana's* Place of Worship, by Way of Triumph over Paganism. And there is no Proof to the contrary. But it will hardly be credited, that there was a Temple, or indeed any Building, for that Purpose. It doth not appear that before the *Romans* introduc'd Building here, there was either Brick or Mortar; and if they had not Mortar, they could not have so much as an Edifice of Stone, unless such as the Park Walls of the West, laid with some Art to bind and compress one another. At best they could have no more than Clay to hold their Materials together.

It seems too hard upon the Contrivance of our *British* Ancestors, to make them live in hollow Trees: under Huts made of Osiers and Willows wound or wattled about Stakes, and covered with Reeds to shelter them from the Weather, they might well enough; which comes up almost to our Cottages. And perhaps they had some Trees growing on the Sides, as the main Posts to support the Edifice. This might be a tolerable Defence for hardy People that are said to have gone naked. But where do we find hollow Trees, and Trees are the same they were then, large enough for the meanest House, or to cover any more than two or three Sheep? Houses of hollow Trees might be tolerable, if they were made of split Trees, such as our Farmers make a Bridge of. These set upright make a good Wall let into one another, the
convex

convex Side outwards one Time, and the concave another, and the Covering might be of Reeds, Flags, and Rushes bound together as our Thatch. *Xiphelin's* $\omega\tilde{\alpha}\nu \delta\epsilon \delta\epsilon\nu\sigma\pi\omicron\nu \delta\iota\kappa\iota\alpha$, as quoted by Dr. *Woodward*, may be thus interpreted.

But their Sacrifices were *sub Dio*. They had not the Improvements of *Asia* and *Greece*. As was their private Life so was their Religion, void of Ornaments. Their Altars indeed were of Necessity in the open Air, the Steam otherwise would have been intolerable, and the Effusion of Blood inconvenient. Whatever Buildings were used for the State of Religion, for the Use of the *Priests* and *Augurs*, and giving out *Oracles*, the Altars of the Pagans must stand abroad as well as those of the *Jews*.

These *Exuviae* might be the Reliques of the Pagan *Saxons*, not left by the *Britons* before the *Romans* came. And if so, there will be still less Pretence for naming the City from *Diana*.

As to the Barbarity of the *Druids* Sacrifices, the Account comes from their Enemies. The *Roman* Historians set them forth as a Sort of *Cannibals*. How does this vast Respect to the Oak and its Mistletoe, which can be call'd by no worse Name than Superstition and Ignorance, suit with the butchering and torturing of Men? We find the cutting down the Mistletoe in exact Order, to be a main Point with them. The Priest dress'd in white is to climb the Tree, and when with his *Falx* he has separated the wonder-working Plant, another receives it with great Solemnity below in a white woollen Cloth, and the two white Bulls are got ready for the Sacrifice. This is *Pliny's* History; and his Remark is, that they place the chief of their Religion in Trifles. *Pliny* could not have been ignorant of their human Sacrifices, if they had been in frequent Use, nor would he have

have called them by so gentle a Name as Trifles. *Cæsar, Tacitus, Diodorus Siculus*, Authors of Credit, give the other Account. But if we consider the Motives ambitious *Rome* had to misrepresent those Herds of People she wanted to have the taming of, we may believe their ill Habits aggravated, and their good conceal'd. *Rome* wanted to be Mistress of the World, not only for Power but Improvement's sake. Every thing was *Barbarous* that was not *Roman*. Their Manners and their Religion too wanted mending. And mended indeed they were by being made a Province.

Some Facts of this Kind one may admit, and yet it might not be a Point of their Religion. Some inhuman Treatment of their Captives, torturing and murdering them, and making Presages from their Manner of dying, and their Entrails. And this might be aggravated, to make them odious, and a juster and more honourable Prey to the Invader.

A farther Account of the Antiquities of *London* was expected from a Book called *A Journey through England*, printed 1714. It is in the Air of a Foreigner who came hither to see our Rarities, and we hop'd had made some useful Comparisons with those of his own Country. In his *Preface, or Dedication*, be it which it will, he sets us to expect the fullest Account of *London* that ever was given. But, alas! 'tis no more than might be had from a *North-Briton* who has made the Tour of *Holland*, and come hither with the Degree of Foreigner. No more indeed than what might have been shewn by a Porter. The Man seems to have his Head turned for the Benefit and Improvement of a Country he only happens to travel through. 'Tis highly generous in a Stranger to be so much concern'd at the Mismanagement

nagement of the Clergy at his first setting out. In his *Preface* he is a very severe Cenſor of the inferior Clergy of thoſe Countries he happen'd to travel through. One would have taken him for their Ordinary. If he had nothing to ſay but againſt the inferior Clergy, might he not have let them eſcape for the ſake of the ſuperior? Nay, he is willing to excuſe ſome Part of the inferior too, thoſe of *London* and *Tunbridge-Wells*, from being *four Clowns of Parsons*. If I repeat one Paragraph of *pag. 204*. I believe it will not be expected I follow this Traveller any farther in his Lucubrations. “ The Nonconformiſts here have
 “ alſo their ſeveral Provincial or Synodical Meet-
 “ ings, even the *Quakers*; and each now ſeem
 “ to ſupport themſelves by out-preaching, as well
 “ as out-living one another. For it's certain, that
 “ where a Clergyman of the Church of *England*
 “ is of good Life, and a good Preacher, the
 “ Diſſenters make no Scruple to go and hear him;
 “ and thoſe Churches who have ſuch Teachers
 “ are always moſt crouded. ”

His Clubs and his Motto's muſt not be forgot. It muſt certainly invite Gentlemen abroad, to whom this Journey through *England* is addreſs'd, to be Eye-Witneſſes of ſo polite a Country, where there is “ ſuch an Infinity of Clubs and Societies
 “ for the Improvement of Learning and keeping
 “ up good Humour and Mirth. ” Here is the
 “ *Kitt-Cat Club* (together with the Etymology
 “ of it.) “ And the *October Club*, a Society that
 “ has made great Noiſe all over *Europe*. We have
 “ ſeen (ſaith our Traveller) in *Holland*, Books
 “ printed for and againſt this Society. Laſtly,
 “ the *Mug-Houſe Club*, where every *Wednesday*
 “ and *Saturday* a Mixture of Gentlemen, Lawyers,
 “ and Tradeſmen meet in a great Room, and are
 “ ſeldom under a Hundred. ”

After

After mentioning the Custom of the Nobility to have their Motto's and Devices upon their Coaches, some of which that pleas'd him he has recited ; he tells us, “ All Gentlemen have a
 “ Motto to their Arms ; and even the Publick
 “ Papers that come out here three times a Week,
 “ take always a *Latin* Motto out of some of the
 “ antient *Roman* Authors : I observ'd, *saith he*, one
 “ Gentleman's Coach, which had a Goose for his
 “ Crest, with this Motto, *Mon Oye fait tout*.
 “ The *Scots*, who have a more unmix'd Race of
 “ of antient Families, *I am told*, keep yet a more
 “ exact and strict Heralds-Office.

This playing with *Monoye*, or Money, is exceeding pretty. It came out of the Common-Place-Book, and belong'd perhaps to his Barber at *Paris*, who carried the Coronet of a Marquess above his Cypher, as this Author tells us upon the Head of Heraldry.

I make it not my Business to give a compleat Account of this antient and renowned City. Mr. *Stowe*, *Strype*, and others, may be consulted for its more modern State. Nor will the Compass of my Paper admit it, going through three Counties in one Pamphlet.

Yet something must be said of its famous Bridge, and particularly of the Relation we have of turning the Stream by a new Cut from *Patrick-sea*, or *Battersea*, to *Rotherhithe*, when it was built. There is indeed such a Tradition, but not well supported.

Against it may be said, That it hath not been the Practice upon other Rivers where the Tide flows, to divert the Stream : That other Methods to keep the Water out of their Work by Dove-tails, and the like, have been in use ever since the making of Stone-Bridges : That it must have been a stupendous Work to provide a Channel capable

pable of receiving the Waters, and confining them against so strong and frequent a Flux as the Spring-Tides alone would occasion : That there are no Traces of this Channel to be seen ; some Sinking of the Ground might be observable, even after five hundred Years, in barren Parts or Pastures, which no Man would have found his Account in levelling : That this Channel must have been kept open good Part of the thirty-three Years the Building was carrying on, for that Part above the Water, was the most easily finish'd : That indeed the Time of thirty-three Years could not otherwise have been taken up in it, if much of it had not been employ'd in securing the Water from penetrating to the Work : That we are not told where the Bridge over the new Stream stood, or that they used for that Time a Ferry : Lastly, That I do not any where find a Provision to make good to the Owners of the Lands the Damages the new Cut must have made ; whereas there is a Record of *Henry the First's*, exempting the Manor of *Acelston* belonging to *Battel-Abbey*, from Shire's Customs, and all other Burdens of earthly Servitude ;—and amongst the rest, for the Work of *London Bridge* ; which shews there was a publick Tax for building it ; and this was for above two hundred Years before the Stone-Bridge was erected.

That *Middlesex* was antiently all woody and Forest, is beyond Dispute. The Out-lines of it on many Parts are such at this Day. On the Eastern Side lies *Epping* or *Waltham* Forest, a Part of the antient Forest of *Essex*, which extended itself to *Colchester*, and probably to *Harwich*. Even the Skirts of *London* on that Side were Heath, *Stepney* being antiently written *Stebenbeath*. If we cross the River *Lea* at *Hackney*, which was Forest in the Reign of *Henry VII.* we fall into *Tottenham* and

and *Edmonton*, and thence to *Enfield Chase*; of which Chase the two last mention'd Villages were a Part, and lopt off from the grand Wild. Farther North it borders upon the old Woods of *Northaw* and *Suthaw*, and all the intermediate Lands between those Woods and *Islington*, have the Remains of their antient State visible enough, as *Finchley-Common*, *Hornsey*, *Highgate*, *Cane-wood*, *Hamstead*. The Road through *Highgate* is of modern Erection, being cut through the Bishop of *London's* Woods upon *Barnet's* growing a considerable Market. The old Way from *St. Albans* to *London*, after the *Watling-street* grew impassable and deserted, was by *Colney-Hatch* to *Hornsey Church*, which presently after fell into the *Ermine Street*, leading from *Hertford* to *London*.

Dr. *Gale* hath observ'd the same of the Lands adjoining to *Watling-street* in its Course to *London*, and quotes *Matthew Paris* his *Life of Leofstan*. *Abbas Leofstanus opaca nemora quæ a limbo Ciltriæ usque Londiniam fere a parte Septentrionali ubi præcipue strata regia quæ Watling-strata dicitur fecit refecari.* The Design of that publick-spirited Abbat in this is said to have been to clear the Country from Robbers, who shelter'd in these wild Places. He farther appointed three Knights to patrol and keep Guard about the *Chiltern*, and gave them the Manor of *Flamsted* in *Hertfordshire* for this Service.

The same learned Author argues from the antient Name of *Thorney* where *Westminster* stands, that it was Wood: And proves *St. Giles's Fields* to have been the same in the Days of *Henry V.* from the History of *Wickliff's* Followers, who assembled there.

The Hundreds of *Elthorn* and *Spelthorn*, which make the West Part of *Middlesex*, seem to carry Wood in their Name. The first hath in it the
Parishes

Parishes of *Northolt* and *Southolt*, which seem deriv'd from the *Saxon Holt*, signifying a Wood. The latter contains *Hounslow* Heath, and the Warren of *Stanes*. Near *Harrow* on the Hill we have Places by the Name of *Weeld* frequently, which means the same, as we have shewn in *Kent* and *Sussex*.

From the Situation of *London* amongst the Woods, *Selden* was induc'd to derive its Name from *Lun* and *Dinas*, *Urbs nemorosa*; to which *Dr. Gale* assents. Yet if we consider, under the *Britons* all the Towns on the Island might be called such before the Land was cleared for Agriculture, we shall not be satisfy'd with this undistinguishing Epithet, but rather take up with the other, of the City of Trade or Shipping, by which it was sufficiently known from the rest. *Howel*, in his *Londinopolis*, pag. 341. tells us, That in the Second of *Henry III.* the Forest of *Middlesex* and the Warren of *Stanes* were disafforested; since which Time, *saieth he*, the Suburbs also about *London* in Tract of Time, and as it were by an insensible Augmentation, have wonderfully increased in People and Edifices. By this one would imagine some of the Suburbs to have been within or near the Forest.

The whole Island we may conclude to have been woody originally, except that Part which was Heath, Bogs, or Rivers. The Heath was not strong enough to produce Wood. The Bogs were from the Stagnation of the Water which passed not by the Current. Of these we have frequent Mention in the *Roman* Authors, who tell us the *Britons* upon a Defeat, had recourse to them, as better skill'd in their Avenues, and better able to get over them, than a heavy-arm'd Soldier. They were with great Labour and Sagacity drain'd, and would soon return to their pristine State,

State, if care did not prevent it. And so would the dry Ground to Wood again, if the Roots were suffer'd to sprout up, which are observ'd to do in one or two Years to a considerable Height, even at a Distance from Trees and Hedges. It is rather wonderful there should be any Interstices of Grass where the Plough or Scythe never come. This must be owing to the Creatures that delight in Browse, as Deer, Goats, Cows, which either crop the tender Plant, or some of them eat off the Bark in hard Winters, and thereby kill the Stub.

The Place in *Sheperton* call'd *War-Close*, shews evidently the Remains of some antient Battle. From the Spurs that are there found, with the Bones and Swords, we have good Reason to believe this was the Scene of the Battle between *Cæsar* and the *Britons*, the decisive Battle that he fought with *Cassibelan* in his second Expedition.

Mr. *Camden* hath fix'd his passing the *Thames* from *Surrey* at *Coway-Stakes*; and his Conjecture agrees well with the Distance of eighty Miles from the Landing-place on the *Kentish* Shore; from the Ford he might find there, and from the Memory of the Stakes being preserv'd with which the *Britons* had made the Passage difficult. What is left of the Fortification of a Camp in the Neighbourhood confirms this, which probably he took the Night after the Action, never trusting himself without that Security.

Whether the *Britons* before the Arrival of the *Romans* fought on Horseback it doth not appear; and if they did not, this Battle must have been in *Cæsar's* Time, or afterwards. With their Chariots he mentions their Horses, and observes in his first Encounter with them, their driving into his Ranks, throwing their Darts, and putting his Men into Disorder by the Terror and Noise of their Horses. He is particular in their way of
running

running upon the Pole and retiring to their Chariot; of their leaping down amongst the Enemy when broken, and fighting on Foot; that they move as nimbly as Horfe, and are as steady as Foot. By this Account, one would imagine they were not yet come to the Way of fighting on Horfeback. And if he meant that on his second Landing they did it, they might have learned it from him. He tells us, when they had chosen *Cassibelan* for their Commander in Chief, they attacked him with their Horfe and Chariots upon his March, and both Armies suffered Loss. But he saith nothing of their Manner of engaging on Horfeback; which surely he would have done, if it had been more than riding to observe and give Orders, or perhaps throwing Darts, and such sort of Skirmishing, without being in Rank and Form.

If there be any Thing in this County that hath the Air of a *British* Fortification, it seems to be that of *Edmonton*, near *Busb-Hill*. Here is a single Entrenchment of a circular Form, upon the Brink of the Hill which stands above the moory Ground, through which a small Stream passes from *Enfield-Chase*. This goes by the Name of the *Mount*, about Two Acres are inclosed. The small Quantity of Ground taken in would make one look here for the Ruins of a Castle rather than a Camp; but there is no Appearance of Brick or Stone, of broken and uneven Earth, whence they had been carried off. The Wall and Ditch are visible all round, one, in Tract of Time, is fallen into the other, but it's far from being levelled yet. This and the adjacent Lands were anciently in the Chase, to which they are contiguous. They lie dry, and have on the North-East a Descent towards the *New-River* and *Enfield*. If these Lands, which were granted

to the Duke of *Albemarle* upon the Restoration, were once a *British Oppidum*, fortified on Two Sides by the Declivity, besides their usual Method of cutting down Trees on the Verge for their Defence, one may imagine this smaller Entrenchment was for the Security of the chief Person or Head of the Place, or for State and Grandeur, if we can admit such Forms in an Age of so much Simplicity and Unpoliteness.

This I should not have advanced, if I had not in other Places seen the like. One particularly is in the Forest of *Hatfield-Regis*, or *Bradoke* in *Essex*, called *Porting-Hills*, or *Portingbury-Hills*; where a small circular Entrenchment is inclosed by another much larger: Of this an Account shall be given upon *Essex*.

From this Mount is a Causeway of Earth over the Moors, already mention'd, towards another Part of *Edmonton*, that leads to the *Green-Lanes*, or *Ermine-Street*, and a Cut is made through the Causeway for the Stream from the Chase. This lies a little North-East of the *New-River* Frame. Whether this Bank were for a Passage, or to inclose the Country Waters, by which a Strength was added to the Mount, and a Benefit of Fishing, as we may observe between *Verulam* and *St. Albans*, and many other Places, I shall not determine.

Since we have no other Etymology of *Edmonton* but Mr. Camden's *Ædelmton*, which he brings from Noble or Famous, one may hazard a Guess, and let it take its Fate: That this was once *Ædelmonton*, and that from this once famed Mount the Village took its Name; which also gives Name to the Hundred.

After *Londinium*, there is but one Roman Station in this County more, in the Itinerary called *Sulloniacis*. As to the Situation of this Place,
Authors.

Authors antient and modern have tolerably agreed. Mr. *Camden* admitted *Brockley Hills* in this County to be the Place. And though Mr. *Burton* chose *Elstree* in *Hertfordshire* for the Station, Mr. *Talbot* has been followed by every Body, because the Remains of *Roman* Building, Urns, Coins, Bricks, Foundations, have so plentifully appeared, and do at this Day at the other. In Mr. *Philpot's* Garden, and the adjacent Grounds, in the Duke of *Chandos's* Wood across the Road, indeed upon a great Tract of Ground hereabouts, are so evident Proofs of *Roman* Inhabitants, that a Gueffer has no Room to look farther for it. To which may be added, the exact Distance the Itinerary gives us between *Londinium* and *Verulam*.

The next Thing before us, is the Name, about which there is no little Disagreement: And this has happened altogether from an unreasonable Fondness of Etymology. This puts me ever in mind of Borough *English*, that barbarous Rule of Inheritance which bore so great Sway amongst our *Saxon* Ancestors; which must be supposed introduced by one particular Strain of them, either in Imitation of a Savage Custom in that Part of the Continent they came from, or from some undiscovered Piece of Policy after they settled here. For without Question, Remains, Distance, and Situation, have a better Pretence to be heard than merely Sound, which hath but the youngest Brother's Title.

Different Copies call this Station *Sullomacis* and *Sullomagis*. The learned Dr *Gale* believes the true Writing to be *Collonacis*, from the Change usual of C to S. “ *Britannis est Colben, Corylus,*
 “ *Colthlwyn, Coryletum proprie dictum, sed &*
 “ *ponitur pro quovis loco fruticibus aspero & in-*
 “ *culto; atque adeo vera hujus vocis scriptio esset*
 H 2 “ *Collo-*

“ Collonacis, sed Latini in his ut in plurimis aliis
 “ literam C in S mutaverunt.”

Mr. Baxter, and with him Dr. Stukeley, would change it to *Suellaniacis*. The first of these Gentlemen, in his *Glossary*, pronounces something positively; “ *Vitiose Antonino scribitur Sulloniacis; nam Suellani sive Cassivellani erat oppidum, cujus in Commentariis suis meminit Cæsar. Idem enim Dioni Suellan est qui & Cæsari Cassivellanus. Est igitur Suellaniacis quasi dicas Suellaniauc sive Suellaniaca. Traxit autem Rex Suellan nomen suum de Cassiis sive Cassivellanis quibus imperabat.*

“ *Cassii apud Cæsarem iidem sunt qui & Dioni Cattivellani & Ptolemæo Cattieuchlani, alias Cassivellani appellati; quod vel Regis Cassivellani castrense nomen indicat. Cattos sive Cassios Belgicam esse Gentem omnibus notum est; verum Frisicæ sive Britannicæ originis. Katten viri insignes & Proceres inquit Hadrianus Junius in Historiâ Batavica. Certe Κόππα, & Κότλα, & Κόττυς veteri Græciæ vertex fuerat, & per hoc quodvis summum. Sunt autem Cattivellani quasi soluto sermone dicas Catticu vel Lan in, sive Catti ad caput fluminæ ripæ, Aventionis scilicet, ad cujus caput est Verolanium præcipua Cassiorum sedes. Siquidem hi Herudfordiæ pagum tenere plurimasque Gentes prodente Tacito Dobunos usque in clientelâ tenere, Trinouantes scilicet, Ancalites, Bibrocos, & Attrebates una cum Australibus Girviis horum pecuariis. Saxonibus tandem temporibus hoc regnum Occidentalibus Saxonis, Merciiis, & Orientalibus Saxonis in membra conscissum cessit. Unde & Bellicosam Cattivellanorum gentem a Romanis fuisse deletam constat. Herudford sive Hertford hodie Pagi caput est; ita enim Compositione ibridâ Trajectus dicitur. Siquidem idem Britannis Rit quod & Anglo*
 “ *Saxonibus*

“ *Saxonibus Ford, & He pro articulo est vetusto.*
 “ *Fuerit igitur nostrum Herudford temporibus Ro-*
 “ *manorum Trajectus ad Leucam.*”

I have produced this long Quotation because I would not seem to conceal any Strength my adversary Opinion hath a Right to. Admitting the whole History to be true, what is there that supports an Alteration of the Name from that of the Itinerary according to the best approved Copies *Sulloniacæ*? Though *Suellan* and *Cassibellan* were the same Name, whence doth it follow, that the Station should be denominated from it? Where do we find, through the whole Itinerary, one named from a *British Regulus*? They are generally described in the Name by the Situation upon a River, a Mountain, a Bay, a Promontory, if they were of *British* naming; if *Roman*, from some other remarkable Thing, unless the Name be perfectly *Roman*, of which there are but few.

Farther, if this Place were named from *Cassibellan*, the Name in *Ptolomy's* Time must have been very modern. So considerable a Place as that of the Prince's Residence must have had a Name before, which *Cassibellan* himself. and the *Romans* after him, were much more like to follow, because we have seen them constantly do it. We don't find *Camulodunum* lose its old Name with the *Romans*, and take that of *Prasutagus* the King; nor that the Seat of *Cogidubnus*, or *Cogidunus*, where-ever it was, went amongst them by his Name. We have indeed the Memory of *Caractatus*, or *Caradoc* kept up, his Camp near *Bramton Brion* still going by his Name; but that was never pretended to be a *Roman* Station, nor is his Name or any thing like it in the Itinerary.

It will then be no Offence to try if the Name of a *British* City asserted by *Ptolomy*, may not with less Force be accommodated to *Sulloniaca*. *Salenæ* is by that Geographer reckoned one of the Cities of the *Cattieuchlani*, *Verulam* the other. If Etymology will be allowed at all, *Suloniaca Castra* is a fair Derivative of *Salenæ*, with the Variation of the first Vowels only.

To confirm this, the Vill of *Skenley*, which is contiguous to *Brockley Hills*, is in old Authorities written *Shellenay*, in *Domesday* once *Senlay*. This bids fairer for *Salenæ* than any other yet produced.

Mr. *Camden* finding the Camp of *Sandy* in *Bedfordshire* remarkably *Roman*, easily fell into an Opinion that must be the ancient *Salenæ*. He had been told, but that's all he depends upon, that the Vill had been antiently written *Salndy*. In this he was imposed upon, it seems, for no Man living thereabouts, as far as I could learn, ever saw it written so but by himself, and those that follow him. This great Antiquary professes that he goes upon the Situation as well as the Name. The Situation no Body that sees it can question. But even that glorious Situation, if *Salenæ*, comes not in with any Writer for a Station, which would scarce have been deserted in a Country where none is equal to it.

I am enough persuaded it was a Station, but by another Name, which I hope to clear up when I come to *Bedfordshire*. All I have to ask at present of the Adept in Etymology, is, that they will determine which is the most natural and unforced Derivation of *Sulloniacis*.



A NEW
SURVEY
OF
ENGLAND.

ESSEX.



THE Romans reckoned this County in the District of the *Trinobantes*. The *Saxons* gave it the present Name, by way of Distinction from the West and South *Saxons*. Our Historians in general have not presented this County to Advantage. *Kent*, and the Men of *Kent* have held up their Heads in every popular Tradition. Whereas *Essex* hath been unfortunate, either in its Management or in its Defenders. The County seems to suffer upon its first false Step in *Cæsar's* Time, as if one Blot were never to be forgiven. If the Relation be true, they shewed more Passion than Judgment by seeking foreign Aid against domestick Injury. They knew the Force of Disease, but not enough the

Force of Remedies, and listened to Sweetners and Empiricks that undertook to rid them of their present Pain.

According to the *Roman* Account, *Imanuentius* their King was worsted by *Cassibelan*, and was killed in the Action. Upon this, his Son *Mandubratius*, applied to *Cæsar* for Protection, and was the first that went in to him. This Prince is otherwise named *Androgoreus* and *Androgeus*, a Title of Contempt. The Authority for this Appellation is said to be from *Eutropius*, who is supposed to take it from Fragments of *Suetonius* not extant.

If the Soil of *Essex* be branded with this, it cannot be charged with the same Oversight a second Time. When the *Roman* Legions were called off, and drew after them the Flower of the *British* Youth to *Armorica* as their Auxiliaries, the Inroads of the *Picts* were insupportable.

Bad as their Case was, the worst they knew was but to die in Battle. They might have spared themselves the Remorse of having called in the *Saxons*. The ill Treatment they met with from their Deliverers, must have that Sting, that it was a Remedy of their own seeking.

Of this, History clears the Men of *Essex*, *Vortigern* having given up this Country to the Enemy to regain his Liberty, being taken Prisoner.

Many Reflections have been made upon this Conduct of *Vortigern*, and some Excuses made for him. According to *Gildas*, he thought himself in great Danger from an opposite Interest in the Island. That Author saith, upon the going off of the *Romans*, the *Britons* chose Kings, then pulled them down again, and set up worse in their Room. The great *Stillingfleet* believes the Father of *Aurelius Ambrosius* to have been one of these who is allowed to have enjoyed the Purple; and
that

that at length, the *Britons* thought none but one of *Roman* Spirit capable of commanding.

At last *Vortigern* might have this to say, that as the *Roman* Yoke was more tolerable than *British* Liberty exposed to the Inroads of the *Picts*, he might hope the *Saxons* would content themselves with being Masters without depopulating the Country.

The Boundaries of this County are on the East the Sea ; on the South the *Thames*, which divides it from *Kent* ; on the West the River *Stort*, which generally parts it from *Hertfordshire*, till it is received by the *Lea*, which separates it from a farther Part of *Hertfordshire* and *Middlesex* ; on the North it is chiefly bounded by the River *Stour*, which parts it from *Suffolk* ; and its North-West Border is *Cambridgeshire*.

Of all the Counties of *England*, I don't know one in which our Antiquaries have taken more Pains to trace the *Roman* Ways than in this : and no where more unsuccessfully. They cannot but be conscious upon how slender Evidence they have admitted Things here, and fixed Stations where neither Distance, Situation, nor Remains will afford them any Countenance. *Colchester*, indeed, and *Maldon* are unquestionably *Roman*. To come at these therefore by a military Way, has been the Point laboured ; and at last 'tis no better than — *Quocunque modo Rem*.

They would have a direct Way from *London* to these Places ; and so perhaps there was, as I shall endeavour to shew. But as these Two Stations are mentioned in the fifth Journey of *Antoninus*, and in no other ; it is enough for us to come at them the Way that the Itinerary directs. That Journey is visibly a kind of Circuit, in which the Camp-Master, or some other Officer, visited the Garrisons, or how could *Lincoln* and *York*
come

come in? By their Vicinal correspondent Ways they traversed the Country as they had Occasion, and did not always go the nearest Cut. What monstrous Errors must be attributed to the Transcribers of *Antoninus* to gain Admission for Mr. *Camden's* Scheme, in which, at first setting out, every Body follows him?

Durolitum in the ninth Journey is made *Leighton-Stone*. He declares himself, upon this Point, in the greatest Uncertainty; and that he is more at a Loss in this County than in any other. Modestly he proposes his Guess, that *Leighton* may be the Place, because of its coming so near the Sound of *Durolitum*. The learned Commentary is persuaded of the same, because of the Neighbourhood of the River *Lea* and *Old-ford* upon it, which was the ancient Passage from *Essex* to *London*. Though, by the Way, the *Lea* is not near enough to *Leighton* to build much upon. Then the Urns, burnt Bones, and other Proofs of *Roman* Funerals are insisted on by that Author. The Right Reverend Editor of *Camden* mentions later Discoveries of Urns, and Bones burnt to Charcoal; and that a Part of *Leighton* is called *Leighton-Stone*, probably from a *Roman Lapis Milliaris*.

At last here is no Situation such as the *Romans* chose for a Camp, no Footsteps of fortified Ground, no Etymology but what will serve the whole Course of the River, and on either Side of it; nor indeed any Thing but Urns and Bones, which are very frequently found at Distance from a City, but never I believe in their *Æstiva*, one of which this must be esteemed, if *Roman*, because it were otherwise too near *Londinium*. And for the sake of this must Ten Miles be thrown out of the *Roman* Account, and the Copier charged with writing Fifteen instead of Five.

Mr.

Mr. *Baxter*, dissatisfied with this Freedom taken with the Imperial Itinerary, makes *Waltham* the Place, because then he comes within Three Miles of the Distance given us. And these Three Miles he would prove erroneously put in by the Transcribers. His Argument is this, That in *Antonine's* fifth Journey, *Cæsaromagus* is distant from *Londinium* but Twenty-eight Miles; whereas in the ninth Journey the Distance is made of Thirty-one Miles, when *Durolitum* comes in as an intermediate Station: From *Cæsaromagus* to *Durolitum* Sixteen Miles; from *Durolitum* to *Londinium* Fifteen Miles. He sets down *Dunmow* in this County for *Cæsaromagus*, as he professes he hath learned from the Annotations, and proves it to be Eight-and-Twenty Miles from *London*; therefore the Transcribers have erred.

In the first Place, the Military Way called *Ermine-Street* is fairly to be found through *Hertfordshire*, on the West Side the *Lea*; and then it could never come at *Dunmow* in a strait Course. Next, the Town of *Waltham*, called by the Saxons *Wealdham*, is of no great Antiquity, signifying only the House in the Wild or Wood, as the Weald of *Kent* and *Sussex*, mentioned upon those Counties. Mr. *Camden*, from the private History of that Monastery, finds that *Tovius*, Standard-Bearer to the King, (I suppose the Confessor) built the Town, and peopled it with Sixty-six Men, because of the Plenty of Deer. They were fixed there, perhaps, for the Protection of the Deer; as Keepers, Rangers, Huntsmen. But here is not a Syllble of its being built upon Roman Foundations, or in the Neighbourhood of a Camp. Nor is there, upon any of the Eminences hereabout, any Trace of fortified Ground, which probably would have remained to this Time,

Time, beause most of them continue to this Day Woody.

At last, this Forest of *Waltham* or *Epping*, hath but of late Years had a Road through it, on that Side, considerable enough to look for a Military Way in it. It is almost within the Memory of Man that any Traffick or Travellers have passed here; the Road to *Cambridge* and *Norfolk* lying on the other Side the *Lea*.

As to the Three Miles in Dispute, I presume, they may be fairly accounted for by a Method usual amongst the *Romans*, of which I can produce many Instances. Supposing then the *Ermine-Street* to lead on the other Side the Water from *London*, by *Hornsea*, *Enfield-Chase*, *Northall-Common*, *Berkhamsted*, *Hertford*, *Benjoo*, *Wadesmill*, to *Braughing*, *Cæsaromagus*, which I take for granted here, without proving it, because it belongs to another County, I will thus account for the Difference of Three Miles. To *Braughing*, the direct Way will be but Twenty-eight. *Cheshunt* or *Cestrebunt*, which I make *Durolitum*, is a Mile and a Half from the Ridge-way Point on *Northall-Common*. There is yet a plain direct open Way from that Point through *Goff's-Lane* to the Camp at *Cheshunt*, a Part of whose Fortification remains. The *Romans*, as they made their Ways with great Labour and Expence, made no more of them than were necessary; and therefore struck out of one into another, sometimes by a Circuit, to come at their Garrisons. Thus a Mile and Half to *Durolitum*, and the same back again into the *Ermine-Street*, compleats the Thirty-one, and maintains the Exactness of the Copies: Not to mention one thing more, that there seems to be a vicinal Way from *Cheshunt* to *Verulam*, over the Ridge Way, which was used to pass between those Two Places, as well as to go from or to

to *Cheshunt* from the *Ermine-Street* towards *Braughing* or *London*. Mr. *Baxter* would change *Durolitum* for *Durolicum*, choosing *Leuca* for the Name of the *Lea*, which hath hitherto been known by that of *Litus*. I see no Reason for this Innovation; but if it were justifiable, it makes no Difference in the Figures. This sagacious Author came as near the Truth as was possible, and yet seems to have missed it only upon a Prepossession that the Military Way must have been on the East Side the *Lea*. There is no more than the Breadth of the Stream between *Waltham* and *Cheshunt*, and Etymology favours both alike; *The Water or the Mer of the Lea or Luy*.

To find *Cæsaromagus* in *Essex*, will be as hard as to find *Durolitum* there. Mr. *Camden* owns himself bewildred, and will hardly produce his Guess that it must be looked for about *Brentwood*. He knows of no Military Way in this County, and was therefore unwilling to determine any thing.

Dr. *Gale* dissents from those that would have *Chelmsford* or *Burgsted* the Place. He shews some Inclination to *Witham*, for its standing near a Stream called *Barus*, which thereabout falls into the *Black-water*, the *Peutingerian* Tables having *Baromagus* instead of *Cæsaromagus*. Some Remains of Fortification here the same Author thinks worth considering; yet the Distance from *London* and *Durolitum* by no means pleases him, though that to *Canonium* and *Colonia* he is better satisfied with.

Camden confesses he once took *Burgsted* for the Place: Mr. *Talbot* thought it *Chelmsford*.

As to *Dunmow*, I can see nothing but a Military Way that gives it any Pretensions. There is no Trace of Fortifications. The present new Town stands upon a Flat, with a little Declivity towards

towards the *Chelmer*; the Church and old Town upon that Stream. For the Etymology, neither is the Scite answerable to *Dunum*, any more than *Dun* will signify *Cæsaro*, which is a Name perfectly *Roman* and Arbitrary. That it is proved the *Cæsaromagus*, is more than I can see, notwithstanding the Labour that has been bestowed about it.

If there be no Method but this of making Things out, that the Ten Miles which were thrown away at *Leighton-Stone*, are to be picked up again and added to the Sixteen or Thirteen that are the prescribed Distance to *Cæsaromagus*, the Corruption of the Copiers may with as much Pretence be retorted upon the Interpreters.

If that were granted, as well as *Colchester*, to be the *Camulodunum*, where do we find a Place for *Canonium*? The new *Camden* makes it *Writtle*, because it has been possessed by the *Saxon* Kings, who seated themselves frequently upon *Roman* Stations. It's true, they did so, and that may be used as a corroborating Argument sometimes, but is not enough by its single Force to determine any thing.

Dr. Gale is for settling the *Canonium* at little *Canfield* in *Essex*, nearer *London* than *Dunmow* is; and making *Saffron-Walden* the *Camulodunum*, from the Coins of *Claudius Cæsar*, and other Remains discovered there.

What has been said, I think sufficient, to shew the Disagreement of Authors, and the Repugnancy of their Schemes to the Imperial Account; and that we are no nearer a Certainty from the Labours of those that follow *Mr. Camden* in the Whole, or in Part, than himself was, and has freely owned.

I propose now, by taking the West Side of the River *Lea* to find every one of the Stations mentioned in the Itinerary at the very Distance they
are

are there fixed; and all these in a direct Line from *London* to the Sea, except the last, as they have been in the former Pamphlet traced from the farther Part of *Sussex* to *London*. Such as are in the County of *Essex*, I think my self obliged to be particular in, leaving the full Account of the others till I come at the Counties they belong to.

Hertfordshire hath the Two first, *Cheshunt* and *Braughing* both answering in Point of Distance; which I will not repeat, only mentioning the Field in *Cheshunt*, called *Kilsmore*, where a Part of the fortified Camp remains; and that of *Lark's* Field in *Braughing*, where on the South-West Brow of the Hill may be yet discerned the like.

From *Braughing*, *Cæsaromagum*, we have the Military Way direct, and in many Places broad, through *Here-Street* to *Barkway*, thence by *Cheshil*, *Haydon*, *Chreshol* to *Canonium*, *Ring-Hill* in the Parish of *Littlebury*, just above *Audley-Inn*; at the exact Distance of Twelve computed Miles. The fortified Ground upon the *Apex* of the Hill, contains about Twenty-five or Thirty Acres. Whoever sees this, and believes the Works made with any other Design, must never have seen a *Roman* Camp. The Tradition of the Neighbourhood that it hath been a Warren, may be very true. There stands upon it a small old Building, that hath Four little Turrets upon the Corners. This seems to have been built for a Pleasure-House to *Audley-Inn*, and may have been used by the Warrener. But the fortifying such a Spot with such a *Vallum* and *Fosse*, could never be to keep in Rabbits, against whom Earth is no Fence.

As to the Name, it lies just above the River *Cam*, and, if I may take the Liberty others do of Guessing, it may have been antiently *Canonium*.

We

We find the *British* Practice of naming Places from Rivers very frequent. The Name may be originally *Roman*.

Mr. *Baxter* would have an Emendation here to *Caunonium*, from the *Tabulæ Peutingerianæ*, in which it is put in the Ablative Case *Caunonio*. His Aim seems to be at a *British* Etymology, where he would make it signify the Reeds of a River. But that is not very edifying, when one is looking for the Situation of a Camp. He would have it *Coggeshal* in *Essex*; and follows the first Annotations upon *Camden*, in admitting the Cover of an Urn, of fine red Earth, found thereabouts, with *Coccilius* upon it, to have been design'd for *Coccilii M.* or *Manibus*. This *Coccilius* is supposed, by *Weever*, to have been an Officer here under *Antoninus Pius*.

Ravennas mentions a Place, next after *Camuloduno*, by the Name of *Calunio*. The *Vatican* Copy hath *Caluvio* and *Colanea*, which I should guess to mean *Canonio* and *Coloniâ*, *Littlebury-Hill* and *Castle-Comps*, because they lie next one another, and because one of them answers to the *Camuloduno* of the other Edition.

If the Place were sometimes written *Caunonium*, that might be an Error from another Copy that spelt *Cannonium* with double (*n*). From (*m*) to double or single (*n*) is an easy Corruption; and, from the Difference of Copies, we have the best Chance for bringing it back to *Camonium*.

At Nine Miles Distance, in a direct Line, we come at what, I humbly conceive, must have been the ancient *Camulodunum*, *Castle-Comps*. This being in *Cambridgeshire*, I defer the more particular Account of it till I treat of that County. Then I propose to shew how it agrees with the Description *Tacitus* gives of the Colony destroyed by *Boadicea*; and of the *Roman* Inscription

tion *Camden* mentions upon Altars, *Camulo Deo Sancto & fortissimo*.

The Military Way passes through the Place where *Audley-Inn* stands; through the Park to *Walden*; by the Scite of the Castle afterwards built by *Magnaville*; thence to *St. Aylots*, a Farm of the Earl of *Suffolk's*, which has been a Cell or Priory. There it is intercepted by *Hales Wood*, planted upon the Difuse of it. From thence to *Castle-Comps*, through *Ashdon* Parish, are Slips of Fields, which by answering to one another, seem to have been the *Roman Road*.

One Thing must be remembred by the Way, that *Ptolomy* places his *Camudolanum*, which others call *Camulodunum*, in the Country of the *Trinobantes*; which contradicts what I have advanced, for then it should be looked for in *Essex*, not in *Cambridgeshire*.

This I own a Difficulty, but with as little Pains got over as many other Things that pass Muster. The Place stands just within *Cambridgeshire*, upon the Borders of *Essex*, in a sort of Indenture, where the first mentioned County thrusts its self into *Essex*, between *Barklow* and *Haverill*. The Division of Counties was *Saxon*; and they were, perhaps, not so very nice and exact in following the *Roman* Descriptions as we imagine them. One County might, in their Wars, gain upon another, and make these trivial Alterations. The Place lies plainly in the Line from *Canonium* to *Ad Ansam*, and thence to *Cambretonium*. As an Instance, *Ptolomy's Cantium* took in *Southwark*, now reckoned to *Surrey*. And *Languard-Fort*, on the *Suffolk* Side the Haven from *Harwich*, is yet esteemed in *Essex*.

I come now to *Malden* and *Colchester*, both allowed to be *Roman*. And I have no other

Difference with any Man about them, than the Way of coming at them, and the *Roman* Names. The first of these I make *Villa Faustini*, the other *Iciani*. And that I may incur as little Censure as I can, I take leave to premise, that neither of them have yet a Settlement by Allowance of the Learned, and therefore a new Proposal may be the better indulged. Mr. *Camden*, with Assurance more than we commonly find in him, determines for *Maldon*, thinking he sees the Remains of the Name *Camulodunum* in the *Saxon* *Mealdune*, or, as he writes it, *Maledune*. He was aware of *Leland's* Opinion to the contrary, fixing it at *Colchester*; which is embraced by Mr. *Talbot*, and the great *Stillingfleet*. The Reason seems to be from the Importance of the Place; that *Camulodunum*, or *Colonia*, or *Colonia Camuloduni* suited best with the Town of *Colchester*, which hath, perhaps, more *Roman* Remains in it of Building than any Town in *England*, besides good Store of Coins.

As to a Military Way to these Two Places, I do not find any direct one in the Itinerary to either from *London*. And here lies the main Objection so frequently urged; that in the fifth Journey of *Antoninus* the Way to *Villa Faustini* from *London* makes Eighty-seven Miles, and from *London* to *Iciani* One Hundred and Five. Whereas from *London* to *Maldon* comes but to Thirty-three; and from *London* to *Colchester* to about Forty-five. And why should the *Romans* go so far about?

I undertake not to prove the *Romans* had no nearer Way to these Two Places. Far from that, a Military Way may be traced from them both, almost to *London*; which, without Question, may be followed thither, at least by a small Circuit, into the *Ermine* Street. Upon this Way, we need not dispute, they went from and to *London*.

These

These Fifteen Journies of the Imperial Itinerary, we are not to think the only ones the Romans used for the March of their Forces and the Business of their Camp-Masters, their *Comes Britanniae*, or the *Comes Littoris Saxonici*. The Account we have, may probably be the Journal but of one Officer, that visited these Garrisons in the Time of one of the *Antonines*. And he might begin and leave off where he pleased, to see the State of the Army, and the Exactness of the Commanders in their Discipline, and the Number of every Band or Cohort, for which *Numerus* was another Name. And the Knowledge of these Things they could arrive at better by Surprise, than if they had been expected.

Let *Camulodunum* be where it will, if in or about *Essex*, it must be out of the Way to *Lincoln*, whither the same Journey carries us. Therefore more Time need not be spent to shew the direct Way is not constantly meant in the Itinerary.

In order to make out my Scheme of the Military Ways, upon which *Villa Faustini* and *Iciani* stand, I must follow the Course both of that called by the Saxons *Ermine* Street, and the other, by them called *Ikening*; and then it will appear, that the fifth Journey begins upon the one and strikes into the other; and at last goes off by a vicinal Branch, for which we have no Name.

The *Ermine* I have traced from the Coast of *Sussex* to *London*, thence as far as *Castle-Comps*, my *Camulodunum*; it proceeds from thence through *Haverill*, thence through *Cambridgeshire*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*, to *Venta Icenorum*, upon the *Norfolk* Coast.

The *Ikening*, or *Ikenild* leads from *Dorsetshire*, and perhaps from the *Land's-end*, through the Midland Counties to the *Chiltern* in *Bucks*; thence

upon the Border of *Hertfordshire* and *Bedfordshire*, and of *Hertfordshire* and *Cambridgeshire*, by *Linton* in that County to *Haverill*. Two Miles before the *Ikening* arrives at *Haverill*, it receives the *Ermine* coming from *Castle-Comps*, and they make together but one Road, till they come at *Haverill*: There they part; the *Ermine* keeping its former North-East Course, and the *Ikening* its more Westerly Direction. Here they make a kind of Saltier, and as their Direction is to cross one another, they do so; only keep Company about Two Miles, which very little alters the Straitness of either: And this, perhaps, to save the making Two Roads in a heavy Country where one would serve.

If I am asked to prove this, I bring the Stations upon the *Ermine* in a direct Line, and at the appointed Distances of *Antoninus*, from the Coast of *Sussex* to *Norfolk*. And for the *Ikening*, it is already granted me, that it passes from the *Chiltern* by *Ickleford* in *Hertfordshire*, where it gives Name, and through *Cambridgeshire*, pointing to *Linton* and *Haverill*. For this I need only appeal to the Maps. He that would make *Maldon* and *Colchester* stand upon the *Ermine*, would make it turn off to the Right, and lose its strait Course. But the *Ikening* points as fairly to *Maldon*, as an Arrow from the *Chiltern* would do.

The End of the *Ikening* being at one of these Places, it may be thought indifferent which of them is the *Villa*, and which *Iciani*. This I take to be determined by the Number of Miles as set down in the fifth Journey. For *Colchester* can't be reckoned Thirty-five Miles from *Castle-Comps*, as *Maldon* may; nor can *Maldon* be esteemed Thirty-five from *Camboricum*, as *Colchester* appears to be.

The Name of *Maldon*, I will enquire no farther after, than the *Saxon Mealdune*. *Cristes Mæl* is interpreted the *Cross of Christ*; and we may be contented with that of *Hill-Cross* for *Maldon*, taken from the Form and the Situation of it. It stands upon the South Bank of the *Chelmer*, upon a gradual Ascent from the River, just as *Colchester* stands above the *Coln*. The present Form of it shews a Cross, which, perhaps, was antiently more perfect; the Houses being wanting, which, in its Prosperity, were continued from the higher Town to the lower. Beginning at the lower Town, that Street to the End that points to *Chelmsford*, is the longest. A cross Street from the Bridge to the *Spital* (if I remember the Name of the Southern Part of the Town right) cuts the other, and makes it a compleat Cross. It might be named from some notable Cross erected there, when the *Saxons* were first converted, and, perhaps, both from that and the Form.

Villa Faustini, I take to be one of those very few Names in the Itinerary which are perfectly *Roman*, without regard to any prior *British* Appellation. It might, perhaps, be nothing at all amongst the *Britons*, and first inhabited by the *Romans*, or their Auxiliaries, for its Neighbourhood to the Camp.

Mr. *Camden*, and almost every Body since, hath allowed *St. Edmund's-Bury* to be the *Villa Faustini*, which Conjecture hath neither Remains nor the Itinerary to countenance it. They have, with Judgment enough, chose a Place of Pleasure and Delight. But how can we think, if *Faustinus* signifies the same as *Faustus*; the Man took his Name from his Seat, rather than his Seat from him? 'Tis strange a Fancy of this kind, so slightly grounded, should have so many Friends to back it. There is no need of *Roman* Authorities to

prove *Bury* a pleasant Place, though there might be better found for a *Villa*, if we look at the Fruitfulness of the Soil. Nor is all this Zeal shewed to clear up any Point of the Itinerary; to adjust the Distances from other Stations. Where the *Colonia* stands, from whence we come to *Villa Faustini*, where the *Iciani*, which we go to from it, is a Matter of Dispute, and no Three Men agree about it. *Colonia* has never yet been set, any where, to answer Thirty-five Miles Distance but at *Maldon*. And if *Maldon* were *Colonia*, and *Dunmow* *Cæsaromagus*, the Twenty-four Miles from one to the other would not answer: And if it would answer, what must become of *Colchester*? If we were to go from *London* to *Dunmow*, to *Malden*, to *Bury*, *Colchester* must come in neither for *Colonia* nor *Camulodunum*, but be intirely left out.

With great Labour, and far-fetch'd Materials, hath this Work been done. An old Name for *Bury* was *Bederics Gueord*, *Bederici Cortis*; *Bederick's Court*, or *Vill*, or *Farm*. *Bedric* may be an old German Word for Prosperity; but we don't find the *Saxons* so careful to explain the Meaning of *Roman* Names, it's enough for us if they keep up the *Cæster* or *Borough*. This comes to no more than *Ovid's*, *Testa parem fecit*.—

The Remains at *Maldon* are no where, that I know of, mentioned but in the new *Camden*, a Coin of *Nero*. This I have seen; it is Gold, about the Breadth of a milled Six-pence, on one Edge thicker than a Shilling, on the other thinner; with the Heads of *Nero* and *Agrippina* on one Side; inscribed, *Nero Claud. Divi Caes. Aug. Germ. Imp. Tr. P. Cos.*

R. A Triumphal Chariot drawn by Elephants. Above the Elephants, *Ex S. C.* in it Victory carrying

rying an Eagle, inscribed, *Agripp. Aug. Divi Claud. Neronis Caes. Mater.*

There is a better Evidence than this that the Place was *Roman*; the Fortification of the Camp remaining, which makes Three Sides of a Square. Probably it was oblong, and one third of it now built upon and defaced. It lies West of the Town, towards *Chelmsford*. The Road thither leads through the Middle of it. The Ground within the remaining Vallum, seems to be of about Twenty-two Acres. Just without the Camp, on the North Side is a fine Spring, which serves the Town with Water.

The Military Way from *Haverill* to *Maldon*, lies through *Stourmer*, *Bathon-End*, *Ridgwell*, *Teldam*, *Castle Henningham*, *Sibble Henningham*, *Witham*, *Tiptree*, thence to *Maldon*.

Maldon was once the Residence of *Edward* the elder, at least for a Time. *Henry*, Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, pag. 353. tells us, that King *Edward* having finished *Hertford* Castle, and built the Town of *Witham* in *Essex*, during his Residence at *Maldon*, he recovered those Parts from the Subjection of the *Danes*.

An old House in the chief Street of *Maldon* hath in Wood over the Door the following Inscription.

Anno Dni. M D XXII.

John Dowcet, and Beatrix his Wyff made this House be their Lyf.

This is very fresh, being something defended from Weather by the jutting out of the upper Part of the House. Here are also strange Creatures in the Carving; Crocodiles killing Sheep, Wolves carrying Lambs on their Backs, a Sort of

Centaurs with Bows shooting at Men, Mermaids, St. George killing the Dragon, &c.

From *Maldon* I go to *Colchester Iciani*. Here start up Two Objections; the first, that the Direction of the Road, hitherto almost strait, is spoil'd, and an ungraceful Turn made. Here are Two considerable Places almost equi-distant from the *Terminus* in *Dorsetshire*. One must be visited first, and of Course a *Diverticulum* must be made.

The second is more formidable, that the Distance is fixed at Eighteen Miles, whereas, in Truth, there are but Fourteen. Here our Rule will help us; that as the *Romans* made their Ways with great Labour and Expence, so they made no more than were necessary; and would by a small Circuit, if they could, fall into a Way already made, rather than strike out a new one through a bad Country. Of this I have seen many Instances, particularly at *Durolitum*, at *Lactodorum*, at *Ben-nones*. So that, if we return upon the Military Way, we come from *Haverill* for Nine Miles; we then fall into the direct Way from *London* to *Colchester*, by *Coggeshal*, and Nine Miles more upon that Road bring us to *Colchester*; which instead of Error shews *Roman* Judgment.

That there was a Military Way from *Colchester* by *Braintree*, *Dunmow*, and farther, is partly admitted by others; and, I hope, it will be carried through before we have finished *Essex*. Thus the *Romans*, by going a Circuit of Four Miles upon Two established Roads, saved themselves the Trouble of making another of Fourteen.

Colchester, at first View, shews its self *Roman*. If we look at the Materials of the Castle, Town, and Churches, we see more *Roman* Bricks than, I believe, any Town in *England* produces. The Situation is delightful, upon an Eminence just above

above the River *Coln*, as *Maldon* upon the *Chelmer*, and the other Stream that falls into it just above.

The Castle hath abundance of these Bricks, but neither here nor in the Town have I observed any of the equilateral ones, except such as I took for the Oblong, broken into a Square. There is good Reason to believe the Foundation of this Castle was laid by the *Romans*; at least a Part of it. For I have been assured, by an ingenious Gentleman, and good Antiquary of the Place, that in breaking up the Foundation of one Part, he saw a Coin of *Galba* uncovered, which lay between the Bricks in that manner those Pieces are found which have been industriously placed to discover the Age of a Building. Some of this ancient Monument is daily demolished to prevent its falling, or to make Money of the Materials. There are Four Towers here, not just at the Corners; one is round, the rest square. Under the Court that is within the Walls, is a large Vault, designed, perhaps, for a Magazine or Store-House: But it seems never to have been used as such, because, upon a late breaking up some Part of its Roof, there was found, through the whole Vault, an intire Bed of Sand, so hard, that it could not have been carried in after the Cavity was made. It could not, by any Art, have been rammed so full from the Entrance, but in Tract of Time it must have sunk from the Arch. We must therefore suppose the Vault built upon it instead of a Frame of Wood, or, as the Method still is, of building Ovens upon Rubbish, or the like, hard compacted; and that the Builders had not Occasion to use it, or they would have dug out this Sand from the Entrance, as lately has been done. The Castle and its *Area* seem to have taken up about Four Acres;

Acres; the Earth Wall, that inclosed the whole, is in great part remaining.

The Churches, and the Wall of the Town, have in them abundance of *Roman* Materials, of which the inside Work of many old Houses, and the Paving of the Stables consist. Coins have been found in great Plenty; the Right Honourable the Earl of *Oxford* hath many of them.

The modern Name is from the *Saxon Coleceaster*, or *Colneceaster*. Pains have been taken to make this Place the *Colonia*, and to read it in the *Saxon* Name. But we don't find the *Saxons* so diligent to convey any more Knowledge of the *Roman* Places than that they were *Roman*, and all that is in their *Ceaster*. This Name seems to be no more ancient than the *Saxon* Times, who called it so from the River *Coln*, upon which it stands. There are also upon the same River, *Eorls-Coln*, *Coln-wake*, and *Coln-Engain*; these Three may be all of *Norman* Appellation. The Two latter, without Question, are. One of them may relate to the Family of *Wac*, now *Wake*, the Ancestor of St. *Baldwyn*, who founded the Abbey of *Brun. An. 1140*. The last to the Conqueror's Engineer, or his Descendants, who was stiled *de Ingeniis*; whence we have many Places named *D'Engains*, *Enganes*, *Ganes*. The other of *Eorl* might be either *Saxon* or *Norman*.

Before I go farther, it will be expected that I obviate an Objection or two: One is, that according to *Tacitus*, the *Colonia* must be here or at *Maldon*, and not in a midland Country, as I would make it at *Castle-Comps*. For amongst the Prodigies that Author counts up, preceding the Destruction of *Camulodunum* by *Boadicea*; one is the strange Appearance in *Tamesis Æstuario*. Now if either *Malden* or *Colchester* were the Place, they are far enough from the *Æstuary* of the *Thames*.

Thames. These Things might be observed by the *Romans* at a Distance, at *Reculver*, or any other Part of the *Kentish Coast*: And when the Thing was come to pass, it might go for a Prefage of it.

Another is, that we might expect to find a *British* Name for *Colchester* latinized, as in most other Places: And that, I presume, we may in *Iciani*.

It will then be asked, why nothing of the *Colne*, the River, is expressed in the Name, from whence we may suppose the *Britons* would have denominated it. They might give a Name from something else, perhaps, more remarkable than the River: Or the River might have the Name of *Colne* given it by the *Romans*, as it rises near the *Colonia Camuloduni Haverill*; to which Place, and farther, the *Veterans* might have extended themselves, according to their Historians; of which I I shall say more upon *Cambridgeshire*. That this may not appear strange Doctrine, I intreat the Reader to look into the Map of *Hertfordshire*; there he will find a small Stream rising about *North-Mymms*, and crossing the *Watling Street*, as it leads from *Verulam* to *Sulloniaca*. The Military Way is there called *Colney-Street*, I presume, as *Via ad Coloniam*. This Brook is called the *Colne*, and though 'tis soon received by the *Verlam*, which rises at *Flamstead*, and better deserves the Name of a River, it keeps its own Name, and swallows up that of *Verlam*; and passing by *Uxbridge* comes to *Colnebrook*, to which Town it gives Name before it falls into the *Thames* at *Stanes*.

If this should prove a Mistake, and that the *Verlam* which passed by the *Colony*, was by the *Romans* called *Colne*, for which the present *Coln* was mistaken by the *Saxons*; it will not spoil my Argument, but mend it.

The

The *British* Name might be *Ichen*, or something like it, latinized by the *Romans* to *Iciani*; and yet this Name might be lost in the Interval between the Departure of the *Romans*, and the Settlement of the *Saxons*, which last gave it this of the City upon the *Coln*; or, as the Modern *Britons*, *Caer Colin*. *Iche* or *Ichen*, in the *Celtic* Language, is, by our Antiquaries, understood of an Elbow or Angle. Thence have they thought the Name of *Iceni* arose, because *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, jut out upon the Sea, as *Fuitland* upon the *Baltick* does. A Protuberance of Land extending its self into the adjacent Vills, is sometimes called so, and the same projecting to the Sea. *Bochart*, in his *Phaleg*. has observ'd these Angles went by the Name of *Horn*.

Whether *Iciani* was with the *Romans* esteemed a Part of the *Iceni*, I shall not determine. The *Saxon* Divisions of later Date, kept not exactly to those the *Romans* made; and *Colchester* might, in those Days, have been esteem'd in that District.

Mr. *Baxter* would have the *Iceni* and *Iciani*, the same. He advances a Notion, that there was a triple Division of these: The People about *Norwich* he calls the *Boreales Iciani*; the *Occidentales* he places about *Ichborough*; and the *Orientales* (with respect to the other) at *Ipswich* or *Gyperwic*. *Colchester* is not at such a Distance, but, if there be any reality in this Distinction, it may have been a Part of *Gyperwic*. And if we will carry it farther to *Gyperwicke* and *Gyperwicken*, we preserve the *British* still.

It is not thought Honourable enough for the Town of *Colchester* to have a Name no more Grand than that of *Iciani* ascrib'd to it. They would rather be the *Colonia*, since a *Colony* was had in greater Esteem, and since they have so many

Roman

Roman Remains. First, I propose that the Distances of the *Itinerary* will not admit their Plea: Next, that a Place so well fortified by Nature on one Side, and, probably, by Art on the other, does not agree with the Description of *Tacitus*, who represents the *Colonia* open and expos'd, and that upon *Boadicea's* Surprize, there was not Room for the *Veterans* to secure themselves; but the few that got into the Temple, the most secure Retreat, were forced to surrender in two Days time.

Iciani is mentioned but once in the *Itinerary*, that is, in the Fifth Journey. *Colonia* is in the same, and *Camulodunum* in the Ninth. The Increase of *Roman Building* must have been under the lower Emperors, and therefore what we find there, could not have been at the Time of *Boadicea's* Exploit. Nor have we one Word in History, of the Restoration of the *Colony* after it was destroy'd. *Iciani* might be afterwards more considerable than ever the other had been: And for their Honour, we find it the *Terminus* of that famous military *Ikening Way*, and giving Name to it, as *Via ad Icanos*.

The Priory of this Town has a handsome Gate yet remaining. The Scite is at present a Garden, consisting of Fourteen Acres. Two Walls are standing one on the South, next to the Fields, the other with the same Front, about the Middle of the Ground, which, perhaps, separated the Buildings from their Garden. The Gardner hath lately dug up some Stone Coffins, which are, as I have seen elsewhere, perforated at the Bottom, to let through the Moisture that falls upon Fermentation.

The Place is not to be look'd at without reviving the melancholy Scene of Forty-eight, the last Effort of expiring Loyalty, equally generous and unfortunate. The Pillar of the Castle against
which

which *Lucas* and *Lisle* were shot, hath some Holes in it which were made by Bullets, or by some-body that hath dug into the Mortar to look for them. They are higher than a Man's Breast; but the Ground hath been taken away since the Execution. It is a Mistake that the Grass will not grow there; but true, that no Time will cover and wear out the Memory of the low Spirit of Revenge, which prey'd upon that Honour it could never attain.

One Apartment in the Castle hath been since the Restoration, used for a Conventicle. The *Exuviae* of the Pulpit remains, from whence we need not doubt a full Answer has been made to all the Productions of *Ludlow Castle*, and *Hudibras* brought to *Honour's Trucklebed*.

There is in *St. Peter's Church*, the Epitaph of a Gentleman, put up in the Times, with that Caution a Man would walk that was afraid of waking the surly Powers.

Here lies the Body of Sir William Campion, Son of Sir William Campion of Kent, Kt. who was killed near the Walls of this Town in June 1648.

He was Pious, Valiant, constantly Loyal to the Prince whose Cause he chose, and whose Service he died in.

Disturb not his Ashes, Reader: If thou likest his Judgment, thou wilt praise his Virtue.

There was an Account of this Siege or rather Blockade, printed by a Quarter-master of the King's Army, at present not to be come at. In it I am told the Action is mentioned, in which *Sir William Campion* fell, endeavouring to get into the Town with the Lord *Capel*, who with great Difficulty carried that Point, and pinn'd the Gate after him with his Cane.

Two Miles South of *Colchester*, are some Lines drawn, which look like the Defence of a Camp in the *Danish Wars*.

The military Way from *Colchester* to *Camboritum*, makes Thirty-five Miles. It leads through *Fords-street*, *Colne*, *Hawsted*, and at *Castle Henningham*, returns again into the *Ikening Street*, by which we went to *Maldon*: Then by *Yeldam*, *Ridgwell*, *Bathon End*, *Sturmere* to *Haverill*; thence by a broad and direct Way, crossing the Road from *New-market* to *Bourn Bridge*, goes up the Hill toward *Hogmagog*, where we leave it till we go upon *Cambridgeshire*.

That which leads from *Colchester* towards *London*, goes through *Coggeshall*, and is the same we came our last Nine Miles upon from *Maldon*. It goes on through *Braintree* to *Dunmow*, and so on towards *Stortford* in *Hertfordshire*. This about *Rayne* adjoining to *Braintree*, is called the Street. *Braintree* also seems to have been *Brainstreet*. And I have been informed, that in some old Writings, this *Braintree* is written *Raintree*. It is also called *Stanstreet*, in a Perambulation of the Forest of *Essex*, made in the Reign of *Edward the First*, where the Jury find the following Places then out of the Forest. *Item dicunt quod Hund. de Dunmono, Hengeford, & Laxeden, ex parte boreali de la Stanstreet quæ ducit de Stortford usque Colcestr' sunt extra Forest de perquisito Albricii quondam Com. Oxon.*

This is called the Street leading from *Stortford* to *Colchester*, and doubtless in the *Norman Times*, and before, the Street lay to *Stortford*. But there is good Reason to believe in the *Roman Times* it led not to *Stortford*, but to *Wallbury*, Two Miles South of it, where is a *Roman Camp* of about Thirty Acres, double Ditch'd. The North Side of this Camp, is defended by a Precipice, above
the

the River *Stort*, not without some additional Works on the Brow of the Hill. The other three Sides remain almost entire.

As we come from *Dunmow* this Way, we pass through *Takely* Street, on the Edge of *Hatfield* Forest, where the Houses standing on one Side the Street, and the antient Inhabitants agreeing in their Relish of Venison, have occasion'd a Country Observation, that *Takely* Street is all of one Side; as if a Street could only mean where both Sides were inhabited. Hence it seems to have gone by the Remains of an old-doated Oak, call'd *Doodle-Oak*, which from its Age, and the Quantity of Ground it cover'd, may have occasion'd the Saxon additional Name of *Bradoke* to the Parish. Thence, through *Beggar's-Hall* Coppice, to a small Piece of fortify'd Ground, call'd, by the Neighbourhood *Porting-Hills*, and *Portingbury-Hills*. There is no Hill but that thrown up within the Entrenchment. It seems to have Relation to the Military or *Portway* upon which it stands. There is at some Distance the Trace of another circular Entrenchment, which once probably enclos'd a larger Quantity of Ground, and altogether might be a Kind of *British Oppidum*; for there is no Sign of Building, no Materials or broken Ground from whence they were taken.

Our Line then goes by *Bedler's Green*, and *Great Hallingbury* Church, to *Latchmore* Bank, and through a Lane called *Port-Lane*, to *Wallbury* Camp, in *Hallingbury* Parish.

As to the Name of this Camp which was used for *Æstiva*, we find it not in the Itinerary; it might be disused before the Time of the *Antonines*. The Adept in Etymology will forgive my guessing it to be one of the *Alaunas* of *Ravennas*, *Hallingbury* carrying as much of the Sound as is to be wished. Mr. *Baxter* makes the *British* of
it

it exprefs *Supercilium Annis*, which agrees particularly with this Situation. There is one written *Alauna Silva*, which may fuit this, as being in the antient Forest of *Essex*. And this *Alauna Silva* may, perhaps, be what he hath placed next to *London*, except one or two, *Omire*, and *Tedertis*, which in the *Vatican* Edition is written for the Name of one only, *Omire tedertis*.

That this Part of *Essex*, hath some Roman Remains, the Castle of *Ongar* shews, and the Steeple, out of the Ruins of which Castle it was built.

From the Sreet, leading to *Takely-Street*, seems to be a vicinal Way struck out by *Trembale* Priory to *Ring-Hill*, in *Littlebury* Parish Canonium, already mentioned. *Stansted Montfitchet* hath a Road in this Direction, called *Stansted-Street*. And *Stansted* its self looks like a Corruption from *Stanstreet*. Thence we pass through *Newport*, which carries with it a Symptom of a Military Way, and so strait to the Camp.

As we came on a Roman Way from *Colchester* to *Wallbury*, (perhaps *Alauna Silva*) we need not doubt but it was continued to *London*: But no particular Traces of it remaining, it is enough to say, that the present Road from this Camp to *Hertford*, of about Twelve Miles, would carry us. By this we pass through *Stansted Abbot*, corrupted perhaps from *Stanstreet*, and so to *Hertford*, where we fall into the *Ermine-Street*, and may go even from *Wallbury*, with no greater a Circuit than of Six Miles.

A great Part of this County having been antiently Forest, and some continuing so still, it may be an Entertainment, not unacceptable to an Enquirer after Roman Antiquities, to have some short Account of the original and present State of Forests, through which a Traveller passes. The

Laws relating to Forests have been collected by *Manwood*; containing their Privileges established by the Kings of this Realm, as well as the Relaxation of those Privileges by the same Authority.

At first, it is suppos'd, the whole Island was possessed by wild Beasts, before it was inhabited by Men, who over-spread the Earth more leisurely than those Creatures, for whom its rude uncultivated State was more suitable: That burning or stubbing of Wood must be previous to Pasturage, and the Ground cleared of its natural Growth, before Improvement could be made: That the most fertile Parts of the upper Ground were first cleared of Wood, and the lower from Bogs drained into Meadows, to which State they would return, without human Industry to prevent it: That a large Tract lying together was thus made habitable for the Benefit of Society and mutual Defence, both against Beasts and Men of Prey: That upon this, the wild Beasts retreated to the remaining Coverts, where they might be securer against Men.

As there was both Profit and Pleasure in pursuing them, the great Men, at length, made some particular Sorts of them their Property, overruling that Law of Nature which before had left them common. As soon as there were any written Laws to ascertain this, we find the King claiming a sole Right in them, forbidding the Subject, upon the severest Penalties, to invade this his Royalty; making the Punishment arbitrary, and sometimes capital. It does not appear that the antient *Britons* valued them for more than their Flesh and their Skins; nor, perhaps, the *Romans* and first Colonies of *Saxons*. Some time before the *Norman Conquest*, Hunting was in Vogue, but chiefly afterwards: They could kill enough for
their

their Use with Bow and Arrow ; nor was Hunting practicable where there were such vast Wilds and Fastnesses that the Men could not follow their Chace.

In the Laws attributed to *Canutus*, we have this recited by *Manwood*, being the 30th Canon. *Volo ut omnis liber homo pro libitu suo habeat veneream sive viridem in planis suis super terras suas, sine Chaceâ tamen ; & devitent omnes meam ubicunque eam habere voluero.* He translates *sine Chacea*, without my Chace, which seems to mean without Liberty of Chace or Hunting, or without the Privileges a Chace had above a Warren ; for the rest of their *Latin* is not so barbarous as to countenance such an Interpretation of *Sine* ; and *Foresta* would probably have been the Word, if designed to express what was the King's Royalty.

Next he cites the *Confessor's Book* ; *Volo ut omnis homo sit venatione sua dignus in nemore, campo, & dominico suo ; & abstineat omnis homo a venereis meis ubicunque parem eos habere volo super pœnam vitæ.* The Conqueror, *Rufus*, *Henry the First*, all keep up to the same Rigour ; the last of these is quoted from his *Red Book* ; *Forestas vero communi assensu omnium Baronum meorum in manu mea sic retineo sicut Pater meus eas retinuit.* *Stephen* confirmed the Forest Laws of the *Confessor* and *Henry I.* *Henry II.* according to the *Red Book*, appoints, *Sane Forestorum Lex, ratio, pœna quoque vel absolutio delinquentium sive pecuniaria fuerit sive corporalis seorsum ab aliis Regni Judiciis discernuntur ; & solius Regis Arbitrio, seu cujuslibet familiaris ad hæc specialiter deputati subjicitur ; legibus quidem propriis subsistit quæ non jure communi sed voluntaria Principum institutione subnixæ esse debent, adeo ut per legem ejus factum fuerit non justum absolute, sed justum secundum legem Forestæ dicatur.* Then he comes to afforesting any Man's Lands he

pleas'd ; *In singulis comitatibus Foresta non est, sed in nemorosis ubi ferarum latibula sunt & uberior pastura ; nec interest cujus sunt nemora, sive enim Regis sive Regni Procerum liberos tamen & indemnes habeant Feræ circumque discursus.*

This was kept up by Richard I. and King John, who follow'd the Example of their Predecessors, afforesting what Lands they pleas'd. It is computed, that in the Time of these three Monarchs the greatest Part of the Realm was become Forest. Robert de Maperesbale, in Bedfordshire, gave the Manor of Battlesden, in the same County, to Geofry de Clinton, Chamberlain to Henry I. to save him from being punish'd as a Felon for stealing one of the King's Hounds.—This from Camden.—One Clause in King Richard's *Affisa de Forestis*, is, *Si qui a modo forisfecerint inde, & inde convicti fuerint, plenariam vult de illis justitiam fieri, qualis facta fuit tempore Henrici avi patris Domini Regis, viz. ut amittant oculos & testiculos.*

From this Time the Glory of the Forest was past its Meridian. Thro' the Humanity of our Princes, or the Distress of their Affairs, their Concessions to their Subjects were great ; at least they confin'd the Ravages of Beasts to a less Compass, and suffer'd Mankind to share in the Fruits of the Earth.

It was an Oversight of the Original Contractors not to stub up every Twig. King John granted the Charter of Liberties called *Magna Charta* and the *Charta de Foresta* at the same Time ; the latter being of a Piece with the other, but made a different Charter, because one Schedule would not contain the whole, as *Paris* informs us. Herein he appoints Commissioners to enquire what Lands had been afforested, that they might be disafforested. The Impositions of his Regarders, Verdurers, &c. upon the Country, for Attendance upon their Courts unnecessarily ; extravagant
Amerciaments

Amerciaments for want of lawing of Dogs, that is, expediting them, or cutting their Claws off, for which Faults sometimes an Ox was forfeited; sponging upon the Neighbours, and getting Money or Goods out of them to keep off Informations; keeping Mens Hogs out of their own Woods in Paunage-time: These Things are provided against, at least the rigorous Punishments formerly inflicted were very much soften'd.

Pecuniary Mulcts or Imprisonment was appointed where Life or Limb used to be lost for Deer-stealing. *Cheminage* or paying for passing through the Roads of the Forest, an ancient Perquisite of Keepers from Carts and Carriages, is forbid. Persons outlawed for Offences committed in the Forest, may have their Outlawries reversed, giving Pledges of future good Behaviour. No Constable of a Castle shall hold Pleas in the Forest for Crimes concerning Vert or Venison, but the Accusations shall be enrolled and tried by the chief Forester when he comes.

These Concessions were very material to the Quiet and Well-being of the Subject, who before was exposed to the arbitrary Decisions of Officers, that suffered their Underpullers to oppress the Neighbourhood by Informations and Encroachments, and made them the most abject Slaves. Nor were the People put into Possession of these Liberties, 'till they had purchased them of *Henry III.* and *Edward I.* by a Tax, in each Reign giving the Fifteenth Penny of all their Goods to have their Privileges ascertain'd.

By Degrees, not only the Forests were brought to their ancient Bounds, but even a Part of the old Forests was from Time to Time granted off for Services to private Men, or for Money, that the Extent of them became reduced to the small Compass we see at present.

What was the Extent of the Forest of *Essex*, when largest, nothing shews ; probably it was once all so, or very near all, since the Conquest. In the old and the modern Perambulations we find almost every Part of *Essex* that at present is not Forest, excepted, which affords a Presumption the excepted Parts once were such. In the *Confessor's* Grant to *Peperkin*, copied by *Camden* from the Exchequer, we find the entire Hundreds of *Chelmsford* and *Dengy*, by the Name of *Chelmer* and *Dancing*, given him as Forester. Since the Conquest we have *Montfitchet* of *Stansted*, Forester of *Essex*. And in all the Perambulations we have mention of *Hatfield* Forest, which still is such, but a private Property, and the Lands about *Colchester* ; so that we may be sure if it was one Forest, it extended from *Bow* to the Sea by *Colchester*, if not to *Harwich*, and perhaps as far as the County reaches North-west and South-west.

According to the last fixing of the Bounds of that called the Forest of *Waltham*, or *Epping*, in the Seventeenth of *Charles I.* the following Places only remain Forest. This was done by Inquisition, and signed by the Commissioners, and the Jury, who examined what remained Forest in the 20th of *James I.* and so fixed it. *Wansted*, *Leighton*, *Walthamstow*, *Woodford*, *Loughton*, *Chigwell*, *Lamborn*, *Stapleford-Abbots*, are within the Forest. The following have Part in the Forest, and Part out of it ; *Stratford*, *West-Ham*, *East-Ham*, *Little-Ilford*, *Great-Ilford*, *Barking*, *Dagenham*, *Navestock*, *Theydon*, *Bois*.

Besides the Disforestation of Places in *Essex*, there are some which have particular Privileges annexed to them. A Field called *Sandpits*, in the Farm of *Gayntbrops*, in *Bovinger*, belonging to *Mr. Houblon*, had a Charter that the Owner shall ever have the Liberty of Fishing and Fowling throughout

throughout *Essex*. Tradition will have it, that some King fell into a Bog there in hunting, and his Life was saved by the Possessor of the Field.

We have in *Manwood's* Collection of Forest Laws, the legal Privileges of the Forest against Invaders ; and on the other Side, the Privileges allowed to the Owners of the neighbouring Lands ; providing Safety for the King's Game within their proper Precinct, and preventing the Damage they would do upon the adjacent Lands.

Upon a Disforesting of any Lands, that Part of them lying next to the remaining Forest, as it were the Margin of it, hath been called *Pourallee*, signifying Perambulation. This Perambulation seems to refer to the Ranger's Power of going over it to hunt in his Deer, that they may neither do nor receive harm.

This *Pourallee*, to all People but the Owner, is accounted Forest still, the Law lying as much against unqualified Men, as within the Forest itself. But the Freeholder of Lands which qualify him to keep Greyhounds, according to the Statute of *Richard II.* or *James I.* hath a Liberty indulged him, with some Restrictions : To course the Deer and kill them, and carry them home if he can, provided he find them on his own Lands, and he may run through the Lands of other Men. But he is forbid to intercept them by Hays, Dogs, Bows, or other Method that shall hinder them getting to the Forest if they can, upon Pain of a Year's Imprisonment, and a Fine at the King's Pleasure.

In this manner he may pursue his Game, and at these Times.

He must begin his Chase upon his own *Pourallee* : He must not forestal the Deer getting Home : He must call off his Dogs as they enter the Forest : He must not follow them into the Forest, unless

the Deer drag them in : He must hunt with no Company but his own Servants : He must hunt no unseasonable Deer.

He must not hunt in the Night ; on *Sunday* ; in Fence Month ; above Three Days in a Week ; within Forty Days after the King's general Hunting, nor within Forty Days of the King's general Hunting to come, if proclaimed ; when the Forester is serving a Warrant near the Pourallees, having Notice thereof given him. If he reclaims his Dogs by blowing a *Rechase*, or otherwise, though they follow the Game into the Forest, he is not to be deemed a Trespasser, but may not go in himself. For Offences against these Laws, he must answer at the next *Swanimote* or Justice Seat.

The Provision made for the Benefit of the Subject, is this ; that the Ranger, an Officer belonging to the Forest, shall chase the Deer into the Forest when they are out. This is the Office of the Ranger, who hath neither Charge of the Vert nor Venison in the Forest, and of the Venison only when out of the Forest. Those Forests which have no Ranger, are such as have no *Pourallees*, such as have no disafforested Lands next to them, and there the Foresters hunt the Deer in again.

These are the Three Points of his Office : *Ad ambuland' quotidie per terras deafforestatas, ad videndum, audiendum, & inquirendum tam de Malefactis quam de Malefactoribus in Balliva sua. 2. Ad refugand' Feras Forestæ tam Veneris quam Chaceæ de terris deafforestatis, in terras afforestatas. 3. Ad præsentandum omnes transgressiones forestæ in terris deafforestatis ad proximas curias illius forestæ tentas.*

His Oath follows ; “ You shall truly execute
“ the Office of a Ranger in the Pourallees of *W.*
“ upon

“ upon the Borders of the King’s Forest of *Wal-*
 “ *tham* : You shall re-chase, and with your
 “ Hound drive back again the wild Beasts of the
 “ Forest, as often as they shall range out of the
 “ same Forest into your Pourallees. You shall truly
 “ present all unlawful Hunting, and Hunters of
 “ wild Beasts of Venery and Chace, as well with-
 “ in the Pourallees as within the Forest : And
 “ those and all other Offences you shall present
 “ at the King’s next Court of Attachments, or
 “ Swanimote, which shall first happen : *So help*
 “ *you God.*”

Beasts of Venery or Forest are, the Hart, the Hind, the Hare, the Boar, the Wolf. Beasts of Chace are, the Buck, the Doe, the Fox, the Martron, the Roe. Beasts and Fowls of Warren are, the Hare, the Coney, the Pheasant, the Partridge.

From this Account of them in our ancient Lawyers and Historians, it appears that it is a Transcript of the Laws of *Normandy*, brought in here by the *Confessor* at his Return from thence, or by the Conqueror, and those that succeeded him. For the wild Boar and Wolf are Game in *France*, but not here.

Our Woodmens Terms too are originally *French*, as *Quest* from *Quester*, *Trail* from *Trainer*, *Retrieve*, *Bevy*, *Covy*, *Richesse*, *Kennil*, *Untapiss*, *Bay*, *Slot*, *Justice in Eyre*, and perhaps *Halloo* from *Allons*, *Away with ye*.

In this a Chace differs from a Forest, that the Chace hath no peculiar Laws, but Offenders in it are tried by the Common Law. It is no other than a Park, but that it is not fenced in.

A Forest comprehends both Chace and Warren, and Offenders against the Game of either within the Forest, are punishable by the Laws of the Forest only.



A NEW
SURVEY
OF
ENGLAND.

SUFFOLK.



HIS County is agreed to be a Part of the *Iceni* of the Romans. These *Iceni* are by *Ptolomy* call'd *Simeni*, as it is concluded, because the *Simeni* are mention'd by no other Author, and the *Iceni* are by him left out. And farther, *Venta* being by *Ptolomy* esteem'd the chief City of the *Simeni*, and *Venta* being generally join'd with *Icenorum*, there's no room to question whether he meant the *Iceni*. These were a Part of the *Britannia Secunda*. They are said to have inhabited *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and *Huntingdonshire*. The two first of these Counties are entirely allotted to them; but as to the whole of the other two, it's more, I believe, than any Man can make out. It is generally allow'd,

low'd, that all the *East-Angles* possessed had belong'd to the *Iceni* ; but 'tis hard to think, a *British* Division, broken through by the *Romans*, and afterwards by the *Saxons*, could preserve its antient Limits, except where the Sea, or inaccessible Bogs, or Mountains, secur'd it.

The Derivation of the Name from *Iken* or *Ichen*, a Rib, Horn, or Promontory of that Shape; seems the most natural ; and therefore I shall not repeat what hath been said upon *Iciani*, and only instance in the Name of *Cantium*, whose Origin is the Figure of the Land towards the Sea. The modern Name is but a Distinction from the neighbouring *Northfolk*, in respect to whom these are *Southfolk*. *Folk* seems to have a Relation to the particular Tenure of their Lands. *Somner* upon *Gavelkind* makes the *Saxon* Tenures but of two Kinds, *Bockland* and *Folkland* ; the other that are mention'd being reducible to one of these. *Bockland*, according to *Lambert*, was hereditary and free, such as the Nobility possess'd ; such as was held and convey'd by Writings, and a Turf of the Land for Livery. It was sometimes call'd *Terra Testamentalis*, and *Hæreditaria*, not alienable but with the King's Consent, and forfeitable to the King if the Owner had deserted his Lord, either in Land or Sea Fight. The Writing by which these Estates passed, is by *Spelman* call'd *Libelli Terrarum*, *Telligraphia*, *Terra ex scripto*. The other, of *Folkland*, was the Possession of the lower Sort of People, Clowns, (perhaps Colons) Villagers, Villains, who paid either Rent for them, or Services ; such as tilling the Lord's Ground, cutting his Grass and Corn, and bringing it home for him. The Ploughmen and Labourers are still call'd the *Folk*, who went antiently by the Name of *Ceorl* or *Churl*.

It's probable, in the Time of the *East-Angles*, the Lands of these Counties were generally let to farm, and but few in the Occupation of the Owners ; at least that there was a greater Number of Villains, Bordars, Cotars, and those that held Land upon base Tenure, than in other Parts, possess'd by the *East-Angles*. There are yet in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* abundance of Copyholders.

The North and South Boundaries of *Suffolk* are Rivers ; on the North the *Lesser Ouse* and the *Waveney*, parting it from *Norfolk* ; on the South the *Stour*, dividing it from *Essex* ; on the West and South-west the *German Ocean* ; on the East *Cambridgeshire*.

The two *Roman Stations* of this County are on the Western Side of it, upon the *Ermine Street*. The Course of the *Ermine* hath been (upon *Essex*) carry'd on from *London* to *Castle-Comps* in *Cambridgeshire*, I presume for the present, *Camulodunum*. As it points forward to *Norfolk*, *Ad Ansam* is the first Stage, six Miles off ; and *Combretonium* the next, at the Distance of fifteen. These I humbly propose to shew at *Tallow-Wratting* near *Thurlow*, and *Icklingham* near *Mildenhal*. And this may be done with the less Offence, because I don't find any two of our Antiquaries agreeing upon the Matter. Mr. *Camden* and *Burton* are indeed so far of a Mind, as to place it somewhere near *Coggeshal* in *Essex* ; but neither has determin'd the Place, which was easy to have found if it had been thereabouts. They should have look'd for it four Miles from *Coggeshal* to the South, if they were convinc'd *Camulodunum* was *Maldon*. And so doubtless they did, and could find neither Remains nor Situation. What had they then to do but to look for *Camulodunum* somewhere else ? But to be doubtful of that which Etymology only had made them confident of, and which they must break

break with the Itinerary to defend? They seem indeed (to use a new Word) too much attach'd to Sound, having not the Argument of Remains the Fortification of the Camp, which they might have seen if they had look'd for it Dr. Gale would call it *Ad Pansam*, from the Stream that rises about *Barklow*, and running through *Cambridgeshire* by *Linton* and *Bourn-Bridge*; then it goes through *Palmsford*, pronounc'd indeed *Pansford*, and hath the Name of *Black-Water* before it falls into the *Cam* at *Shelford*. At the Head of this he would place *Ad Ansam*.

The new *Camden* finds it at *Witham* in *Essex*, upon Supposition that the Romans must have had a Settlement there, because the Saxon *Edward* built a Castle upon it; it being a common Practice of that Nation to follow the Roman Judgment, and take their Camps. The Castle and the ruinous Camp seem to have been employ'd against the *Danish* Depredations, by which this Country for a long Time suffer'd. *Domitian's* Coin at *Fauburn* may prove the Foundation of that House to have been laid in *Domitian's* Time, better than that *Witham* is *Ad Ansam*.

Mr. *Baxter* takes a Leap to *Thaxted*, and alters the six Miles of the Itinerary to sixteen: He had as much Authority to have made them twenty, and that would hardly have served his Purpose. He finds in *Ravennas* *Axium* for a River. This he desires may be understood the *Chelmer*; then finds in *The Axted*, *Thaxted*. He claims a great Latitude for Etymology; that *Exa*, *Ixa*, *Oxa*, *Affa*, *Iffa*, or *Ifca*, have all the same Meaning, *Aquæ Tractus*: when at last *Thacsted* may be no more than the *Thatch'd-House*; *Thace* in Saxon signifying Thatch.

Camden, in the new Translation, saith, ' Six
' Miles from *Camulodunum* *Antoninus* fixeth the
' Place

other, if the *Iceni*, who are suppos'd to have named it, call'd it so; unless we will have it, by Pre-eminence, be call'd the chief Town of the *Iceni*. It is, without Question, a *Saxon* Name; and we don't find That People enquiring after a *British* Original, but when the *Roman* Name is dropt, fixing one of their own on some Occasion we are often Strangers to.

The City seems at least to have been half a Mile long, extended at a small Distance from the River. On the West of all the Ruins is the Camp, a Square seeming to contain about twenty-five Acres. The *Vallum* is on all Sides visible, but where the moory Ground hath brought it to Decay. The Ford to it I take to be at the Eastern Part of the City. The Road from *Ad Ansam*, half a Mile before it comes to the Ford, cuts a high Bank, which looks like some old *British* Mete for the Division of the Country. 'Tis such as the *Devil's-Ditch* on *New-Market* Heath, and perhaps answers to it; for the *Fosse* is on the South Side of the *Vallum*, as at the other. Here indeed is a *Fosse* on both Sides, but not for the whole Length. This Work is continu'd for half a Mile hereabouts; the rest may have been demolish'd when both Sides of it were under the same Government. There is a Field called *Kent-Field*, corrupted from *Camp-Field*; another, *Rompit-Field*. Coins are found here in as great abundance as any where in *England*; chiefly of the lower Emperors *Antoninus*, *Tetricus*, *Commodus*, &c. They are most frequent in a plough'd Field, half a Mile from the Town North-West. Some are found in the Moors when they dig to fence or drain them; which is a substantial Proof they were not hid by the *Romans* to shew they had been Masters here, for it was Ten thousand to one they should never see the Light.

About

About three Years ago a Leaden Cistern was found here by a Ploughman, the Share striking against the Edge of it. The Treasure it had conceal'd was gone. The Cistern is in being ; it contains about sixteen Gallons, perforated on each Side for Rings to lift it by. There is ornamental Work on the Outside of it, imitating Hoops of Iron, but cast with the Thing it self. On one Side is a Mark Λ , perhaps intending the Measure or the Use of it.

West of the Camp, between it and *Barton Mills*, upon the Warren Hill, are three large *Barrows*, with a *Fosse* about each. One hath been cut through half way from the Top, as if it were done with a Saw, and from the Outside to the Middle, and the Piece is wanting. Whether it was carry'd off to manure some Land, or was made for some Purpose in that Form, nothing appears. In the Chancel of the Church is a Pavement of Bricks, in Shape of a large Gravestone, of different Form, many of them Semicircular, which are placed against one another to make a Circle, and the Middle is fill'd up with another. The Pavement within the Rails is all of the same Kind. These probably were preserv'd by some curious Person out of the Ruins of the City.

Going Northward from the Town, towards *Thetford*, we ascend a Hill. At a Mile's End is a *Barow* ; at another Mile a Concave, a sort of Reverse of a *Barow*. The Line carries us to a Ford at the Eastern Part of *Thetford*, where the Market is kept, half a Mile above the present Bridge, to which another broad and straight Road answers, leading by *Sitomagum* to *Venta Icenorum*.

Let us see what others make of *Combretonium*. *Camden* places it at *Bretenham*, at the Head of
I. the

the little River *Breton*, which runs by *Hadley*, into the *Stour*. He urges the Affinity and Signification of the Name. The first sounds well, if we are to look for *Roman Sound* in *Saxon Names*. The Meaning he finds to be a Valley upon the *Breton*. To this the *Annotations* have added nothing. The same Author observes, the *Peutingarian Tables* call it *Convotronum*, and *Ad Covecin*. But what is become of our Distance from *Ad Ansam* to it? If we reckon from *Coggeshal*, and go either by *Neyland* or *Sudbury*, we shall want, I fear, nine or ten Miles.

Dr. *Gale*, tho' he likes the Name, is offended at the Want of Miles, having but six from it to *Wulpit*, which he makes his *Sitomagus*.

Mr. *Baxter* saith, in *Vossius* his Copy 'tis *Compretonium*. Be it what it will, he is, it seems, for erasing it, that is, making it the same as *Camboriturum*; which I shall not stay to disprove, since his Opinion is single, and since his Reason is the same *British* Meaning of both; which is not enough to expunge a Station of the Itinerary.

Suffolk seems entitled to one *Roman Monument* more, that is, *Othona*; where, according to the *Notitia Imperii*, the *Præpositus numeri Fortensium* was posted under the *Comes Littoris Saxonici*. This, as the *Cinque Ports* on the Shore of *Kent* and *Sussex*, was to guard the Coast against *Saxon Piracies*, and perhaps for a *Pharus*, as *Dover*, one of them. It hath been judg'd, by Mr. *Camden* and others, to be at a lost Town in *Dengy Hundred*, near *St. Peter's on the Wall*, because *Bede* mentions *Ceada's* baptizing at *Ithancester* near *Maldon*. Here might be a City, but we have nothing but changing *Othona* to *Ithania* for it.

I would look for *Othona* upon the Coast of *Suffolk*, because it lies expos'd to the *Saxon Shore*,
and

and because we find other Garrisons of the same kind farther upon the Coast of *Norfolk*. Having no Light to it from the Itinerary, one might suppose *Landguard* Fort, *Alborough*, *Littleborough*, or *Laystoff*, the Place. My Vote is for *Alborough* or *Laystoff*, because of the proper Situation for Light-Houses ; and I chuse *Alborough*, from its *Saxon* Signification of an *old* Town or City.

N. B. *Antoninus's Itinerary is in the First Part.*

The END of the Second Part.



A NEW
SURVEY
OF
ENGLAND.

WHEREIN

The Defects of CAMDEN are supplied, and the
Errors of his Followers remarked :

The Opinions of our ANTIQUARIES are
compared :

The *Roman* MILITARY WAYS traced ;

And, The STATIONS settled according to the
ITINERARY, without altering the *Figures*.

By N. SALMON, LL. B.

PART III.

Comprehending NORFOLK, CAMBRIDGESHIRE,
and HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

Ὁν βειάρεων καλέει θεοὶ ἄνδρες ὃ τε πάντες
ἁϊδαίων. —————

HOM.

LONDON:

Printed for J. ROBERTS, in *Warwick-Lane*, and J. LEAKE,
Bookseller at *Bath*. 1728. (Price 1 s.)

THE
SURVEY
OF
ENGLAND.

THE DUTY OF THE SURVEYOR, AND THE
LIST OF HIS OFFICERS AND ASSISTANTS.
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A NEW
SURVEY
OF
ENGLAND.

NORFOLK,



ACCORDING to the *Roman* Division of the Island, was a Part of the *Iceni*, sometimes corruptly written *Simeni*. In the *Saxon* Division it is made a Part of the Kingdom of the *East Angles*. It is called *Simeni* by *Ptolomy* only, who most certainly means the same Country by it, as other Authors by *Iceni*. This appears from the Situation he has ascribed to it after the *Cattieuchlani*, and having the *Trinobantes* on the East, towards the *Æstuary* of the *Thames*: And such is the Situation of the four Counties thought to be comprehended under *Iceni*.

Cæsar mentions the *Cenimagni* as surrendering to him after the Example of the *Trinobantes*. This was probably a Name the Country was as well known by to the *Romans*, as the other, because *Ravennas* for the chief City (as *Ptolomy* calls it) hath *Venta Cenomum*, and the *Vatican* Edition, *Venta Icenorum*, the same that we find it in the *Itinerary*.

Mr. *Baxter* most sagaciously reconciles *Ptolomy's* writing with *Tacitus*, the *Itinerary*, and other Authors that have *Iceni*. He makes the Error from *Οικενοί* to *Κίμενοι*. The Diphthong *oi*, might, by a slight Mistake, be changed to *ci*. Σ hath been frequently written *C*: And our present Pronunciation of *C*, is the same as if it had been *S*, in many Instances.

But then we must make the μ to have got into the Place of κ , which is an Alteration often happening from the ill Hand of one Transcriber, or Want of Skill in another. It's true, the lowest Dash of the κ being faintly expressed, the remaining Part of the Letter looks something like μ ; and so we may account for the Change.

That *Iceni* seems to be the *British* *Ichen*, meaning a Rib, or Horn, latinized, I have already hinted; and that the Country was by the *Britons* probably named from thrusting itself into the Sea, as *Cornwall*, or *Cornwales*, from the same. The great *Spelman* would derive it from *Ichen*, if he could find the *Britons* ever called the River *Ise* by that Name. There are so many Examples of Countries and Towns taking Names from Rivers, that he was inclin'd to make this do so.

Mr. *Camden*, desirous to reconcile *Cæsar's* Name, *Cenimagni*, with the rest, comes to the Division of the Word, and mentions a Manuscript that hath it *Ceni Agni*, and, if Division be allowable, would rather have it *Ceni Regni*. This is much
laboured,

laboured, and the *Regni* would leave as much Difficulty as there was before.

None of these Interpretations are so clear, but, without Violence to these great Men, there is fair Room for Conjecture still. I would read it *Ceni-magni*, and suppose the Name given by *Cæsar*, to have been *Iceni magni*, making two distinct Words. Farther, that this was written down after one that read or dictated, and that several proper Names of People following one another in the Nominative Plural, that which immediately preceded ending in *i*, the *I* at the Beginning of this happen'd to be dropt.

For the Adjective *magni*, it is probable there were other Parts of the Island called *Ichen* from their Form, as well as this, and that this is by Way of Distinction from them. *Britain* being divided into several Parts whilst it was in the Hands of several *Reguli*, they might call a Part of their Country by the same Name as another did without Confusion. In that State the chief Stream of a Kingdom was called The River by Way of Eminence, which is the Reason we find so many *Avons*, *Ouses*, *Thames*, or Names sounding almost the same.

There might be such a People as the *Iceni parvi*, which had their Name soon altered, after they were reduced to a *Roman* Province, for better distinguishing it from the *Magni*.

There are not wanting great Names to assert *Iceni* in *Warwickshire*; others have done it in *Lincolnshire*, some in *Hampshire*, whether upon good Grounds, I shall not determine, the Probability of the Name having been somewhere from the Thing it expresses, is enough for my Purpose.

The modern Name, *Norfolk*, is, without Question, by Way of Distinction from its Neighbour *Suffolk*, from *Suthfolk*. The Addition of *Folk*

seems to have some Relation to *Folkland*, in Opposition to *Bockland*, expressing the base Tenure of great Part of the Lands there. Of this enough has been said in our second Part upon *Suffolk*.

Mr. *Camden* hath a Piece of natural History of this County, that it is a *Nursery of Attorneys*, and that the Country People have a great *Genius* to that Sort of *Polemical Learning*. From *Varro* he observes, *that the Goodness of the Soil may be collected from the bright clear Complexion of the Inhabitants, not to mention their Sharpness of Wit, and singular Capacity in the Study of our Common Law.*

By Goodness of Soil, both *Varro* and himself must mean healthful, he could not otherwise have singled out *Norfolk* for what the present Age calls good. The wholesome Air may naturally produce a Sharpness of Wit; but *Henry* the VIth's Act against the Exercise of it, restraining the Number of Attorneys, hath given it another Turn.

Nature seems to have designed this Country for Health and rural Diversions, as much as any in the Island: And tho' it produceth not Crops equal to a better Staple, it hath the Advantage of Navigation in lieu of it. The Lands, by new Improvements of sown Grass and Turneps, have cleared up the Complexion of the Husbandman; and the vast Numbers of Sheep educated here at a small Expence, especially since they have a Winter Feed of Turneps for them, stock the Counties quite to *London*, and bring in a good Profit. It is *Vervecum Patria*, but not *crasso sub aere*. The Reason of the free Growth of the Law here, must have been the Plenty of Copyholders, and the Chance to come in for Court-keeping, as the Plenty of Hares here, produces Plenty of Greyhounds. The Beauty and Innocence of these Plains, is exceeded by none. The fine Turf and *Galaxy* of Flocks, would have afforded

forded a literal Translation of *Ceni agni*, if it could stand the Inquisition of the Criticks, *Norfolk Lambs*. When this Army of Attorneys was disbanded, they were from fourscore, which *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* had in Pay, reduced by the Act to fourteen, six for *Norfolk*, two for *Norwich*, and six for *Suffolk*.

In Figure this County comes the nearest to an Oval. From *Lynn* to *Tarmouth*, which makes about half its Circuit, 'tis bounded by the Sea, which washes it on the North-East, North, and Northwest Sides. It hath *Cambridgeshire* on the South-West, on the South *Suffolk*, from which it is divided by the *lesser Ouse*, and the *Waveney*.

The *Erminestreet*, which I have followed from the Coast of *Sussex*, here hath its Period at the Sea. It hath been traced thro' *Sussex*, *Surrey*, *Middlesex*, *Essex*, and *Suffolk*, to the Borders of *Norfolk*, nothing being omitted but one Station in *Cambridgeshire*, which must of necessity be done 'till we come at that County, and there it will be placed as it stands between *Essex* and *Suffolk*, and the whole Line of the Street recapitulated.

From *Icklingham*, in *Suffolk*, *Combretonium*, our next Station is *Sitomagum*, to be looked for in *Norfolk*. From the direct Course of the *Ermine*, all the Way from *Sussex*, we pursue our Way to the Sea. And in that direct Course we are to find *Sitomagum* at twenty-two Miles from *Combretonium*.

The Place, if we have regard to Remains, will be *Bokenham*, *New Bokenham* adjoining to the *Old*. From *Icklingham* hither, is a fair plain Way pointing to the East of the present Bridge that leads to *Norwich*. There hath been a Ford, above which *Thetford* Market is kept; and from thence a Way leads by the great *Danish* Work,

by some termed the Castle, to *Larlingford*, corrupted, they tell us, from *Harlingford*. Thence, in a strait Line, within a Mile of *Bokenham*, where it is lost. There is between it and *Bokenham*, a Moor, in Winter hardly passable, and in Summer not capable of a Military Way. Beyond this is *Bokenham*, our Station.

If we trust to this Way, we have two Miles less than the *Itinerary* gives, which makes twenty-two from *Icklingham*, whereas this is computed but at twenty. This therefore is first to be accounted for, before we come to our Evidence for the Station.

We frequently find a Military Way drawn a little round a Hill, to favour the Passage up and down. By this the Direction is, in some Degree, spoiled, but the Convenience, which is preferable, kept up. On the same Account I take the Liberty to suppose, the Way was not carried on thro' *Thetford*, and *Larlingford*, and the Moor near *Banham*, from the Difficulties that might arise in fording at both Places in a Flood, and the Expence of making a Causeway thro' the Moor, which thus might be avoided; and which, if it were made, would have sunk thro' so spongy a Foundation. I would therefore look for the Way from *Icklingham*, by *Euston* in *Suffolk*; thence by *Herling* in *Norfolk*, thro' *Banham* to *Bokenham*: And thus are the twenty-two Miles made out.

Is it not more agreeable to *Roman* Prudence, to make this small *Diverticulum* for the following Advantages? First, That the *Little Ouse* is to be forded about *Euston*, before it is encreased by the *Thet* from *Suffolk*, which *Thet* is here passed by itself, whereas at *Thetford* they would have had the Addition of this *Thet*, and the Addition of the Stream that comes by *Hockham* to *Larlingford*, which they missed entirely, by taking the
Road

Road to *Herling*. For that River, after its North-East Course to the Neighbourhood of *Herling*, having received the *Quiddenham Brook*, turns about, and runs South-West to *Thetford*. In this Way there is no Water to be passed from *Icklingham* to *Bokenham*, but the single *Thet*, and single *Ouse*, and that from *Quiddenham Mere*.

Before I give my Proofs, I will examine the Antagonist Schemes. *Camden*, without Hesitation, pronounceth *Thetford* the Place, sometimes written by the Saxons *Theotford*, and sometimes *Theodford*. He mentions a various Copy of *Simomagus*, another of *Simonagus*. Some interpret *Theotford*, a Ford of the People, or a publick Ford. In this there is no great matter. If we suppose it the Ford of the *Thet*; for whatever Reason that Stream was named, 'tis not satisfying, because the *Thet* is taken into the *Ouse* before it comes to *Thetford*, and the Name, one would think, therefore absorbed by the *Ouse*, a more considerable Stream. Naturally it would have been called *Ouseford*, which being the same as *Oxford*, perhaps the absorbed River gave Name to prevent Confusion, and to distinguish it sufficiently from *Oxford*. *Camden* farther looks for Roman Remains in the Name, and is willing to believe the Saxons changed *Sit* to *Thet*, as not very different.

The new *Camden* first giving in the Margin *Wulpit* for *Sitomagus*, taken, I presume from Dr. *Gale*, pursues that Hint no farther, but finds a Relation to *Iceni* in this *Simomagus*, especially if *Ptolomy's* Way of writing them *Simeni*, have any Weight. That it hath been a Place considerable in the Saxon Times, is not to be disputed. In the Confessor's Time were reckoned here, according to *Camden*, 947 Burgeſſes. And this was after its being destroyed by *Sueno* the Dane, in the Reign
of

of *Ethelred*. *Herfastus*, Lord Chancellor, and Bishop of *Elmbam*, removed the Episcopal See hither, who govern'd this Church some time between the Year 1048 and 1088. Afterwards its repaired Grandeur sunk again, upon the See being removed to *Norwich* by *Herbertus Lozingay*, Lord Chancellor, who was Bishop from 1088 to 1120.

Yet I find no Pretence here to *Roman* Antiquities. What *Sir Thomas Brown* mentions of Coins being found here, is not sufficient, if the Account given of the hiding them in our first Part of *Kent*, *Sussex*, and *Surrey*, be allowed. They might be laid up there by the *Britons*, whose current Money they were when the *Picts* and *Saxons* came in upon them. Or they might be Collections from the neighbouring *Icklingham*, which affords such abundance, and preserved as Rarities, when the Town was sacked by the *Danes*.

The Castle here, as it's called, seems to have been a Work of the *Danes*, and made for Shew, rather than Defence. Its Freshness will hardly admit of elder Date than the *Danish* Ravages here. There is a vast Keep, adjoining to which, as Wings, are two exceeding high Ramparts, that seem to be for Strength, and for long Barrows both. Without these is a lower Rampart, and the double Ditch may yet be traced round. There is not one Stone about the Keep, nor any broken Ground from whence we can suppose any taken, but the Whole entire and uniform. And if it had been design'd for Defence, the *Area* must have been larger: For within the Entrenchments there is not Room to contain a Garrison to defend it; but just enough for the fighting Men, without a Place for Lodging, Refreshment, or Provisions, when they are off of Duty.

Looking from the Keep between the Wings, it makes a magnificent Appearance, and hath a

View

View over the flat Country towards *Dis*. If we can imagine it *Roman*, we may as well carry it a little higher, and suppose it to be for *British* Judicature, or a Convention of the chief Men of the State, or for both; or, perhaps, for Sacrifice.

As to the Name of *Thetford*, considering it was given by the *Saxons*, and that, in all Probability, it was the Royal Seat of the Kings of the *East Angles*, the fairest Etymology will be The Royal, or Princely Ford, the Ford at the King's Residence: For such will the *Saxon* Word *Theoden* signify in several of the *Saxon* Chronicles, Lord, Ruler, and King. From *Theodenford*, thus I imagine it contracted to *Theodford*, without Relation to the River *Thet*, unless it may be allowed, the little River *Thet* took its Name from the City to which it runs.

The judicious Dr. Gale, who makes *Wulpit*, in *Suffolk*, *Sitomagus*, finds there large and deep Ditches like *Roman* Works. He derives the Name from a Den of Wolves, in *British*, *Cidwne*, and for that Purpose chooses the Editions of *Antonine*, which, instead of *Sitomago*, have *Situmago*. This *Wulpit* hath the Appearance of a fortified Place, and might be a Place of Arms of some that made a Descent from the Continent hither, and treated the Inhabitants with Fire and Sword. That it is by Way of Figure these Works of Men are attributed to Beasts, is plain, as *Lucanthropia* of the Antients, from Man's Imitation of a Savage Nature.

But to go to *Wulpit*, is out of the Line of the *Erminestreet*, as we have traced it: And the Dean's own Confession, that it lies from *Bretenham*, his *Cambretonium*, but five Miles, whereas it should lie twenty-two, saves me the Trouble of saying more about it, except that it lies also within five Miles of *St. Edmonds Bury*, his *Villa Faustini*.

The

The Similitude of Sound is the only Thing that could incline this learned Man to think of *Bretenham* for *Cambretonium*.

Where-ever this *Cambretonium* stood, the Dean's Etymology is the fairest, that it is from *Cwm* in *British*, a Valley, and *Breton* the Name of a River. He is inclined to fix it at *Bretenham*, because a little South of that Village is the Source of one of those Brooks which, joining, run by *Hadley*, and fall into the *Stour* below *Neyland*. This, in the Maps, below *Hadley*, is called the River *Berton*.

If *Distance* and *Remains* would admit *Bretenham* to be the *Vale* upon the *Breton*, I would raise no Objection to the Scheme; but since they do not, I may produce the very same Evidence to corroborate my Choice of *Icklingham*, which shews both *Distance* and *Remains*: And that is the River upon which it stands. I could never hear a Name for it; but the Mill upon the Passage of it to *Norfolk*, carrying the Name of *Barton Mills*, gives us as good a Pretence to the Evidence of Etymology. This may have been antiently *Breton*.

Cambretonium seems to be the Place by *Ravennas* meant by *Duroviguto*, in the King of *France's* Manuscript, *Durojugato*. *Duro*, from *Dour*, the *British* of Water, agrees well enough with this Situation. Here *Ravennas* seems to go in the Order of the ninth Journey of *Antonine*, which is unusual with him. One may generally conclude him reckoning up the Cities and Camps of a Country, as they lie in a Map, and sometimes taking a Circuit by the Sea Coasts. But here he keeps to the Order of the *Itinerary*, only calling three Places by a different Name, perhaps the more antient Name, and leaving out *Canonium* and

and *Durolitum*, as is done in the fifth Journey of *Antonine*.

I find no Attempt to remove *Sitomagus* from *Thetford*, where *Camden* had placed it, 'till this of the Dean of *York*. Mr. *Baxter* hath, indeed, by a plenary Power indulged to himself, and he was a great Lover of Liberty, altered both Place and Name, without the least Regard to Remains, Distance, or the constantly received Opinion of our Antiquaries, none of which ought to be broken thro' for the sake of Innovation only. It is not enough to say, This suits his Fancy best, but he should offer what will also stand the Test of others, before he demolishes what hath the Plea of Establishment: What is a Reason to one Man, is a Reason to another. When they differ upon a Point, it is for want of weighing the Evidence each Side produces; for want of throwing off the Biass of Prejudice, which determines them to give Judgment before they have heard the Cause. A Man of Learning hath, of all others, the least Pretence to assert without Proof, because he could most easily have brought it.

This sagacious Author hath very justly observ'd, in his Dedication to his *Glossary*, that a Knowledge of the *British* Tongue is necessary to an Antiquary, and that, for want of it, some of great Names have erred. And the World is highly obliged to him for his Work that furnishes the Unskilful with Helps in Etymology, and enables them with his Glass, to see farther than they can without: But when Respect to Etymology is set on Horseback, and Respect to Remains, Situation, and Distance must go a Foot, Etymologists must be put in mind to range themselves in their proper Place, which is the lowest. There, as Servants, they may be of Use to the Common Wealth, but, like Fire and Water, are insupportable Masters

sters. In indifferent Things, the more Opinions the better, because they may start Game for better Heads to follow: But to our own Children, no ridiculous Indulgence is to be shewn. An Opinion made publick, is the Property of Community, and no farther to be defended, than Mankind see Reason for. Let them nurse up the Infant, and be Judge of its Merit.

It was brave in *Homer*, if he conceal'd the Place of his Birth 'till his Works made the World think him worth the claiming. Let

*Seven Wealthy Towns contend for Homer dead,
Thro' which the living Homer begg'd his Bread.
Æsop, at Tunbridge.*

The great *Roman* Genius, pardon the Digression, remarks upon the Philosophers, that they set their Names to those very Books in which they express a Contempt of Glory. This seems to be a Flight, rather than a serious Censure. He would not have blamed Men for making that Figure in the World they were born for: For improving Posterity in Religion, Morality, and Learning: For acknowledging the Merit of their Instructors, and the Countenance of the States under which they flourished.

The Glory, perhaps, which they taught Men to despise, was the Glory of Arms, the Glory of Conquest, making a Province of innocent Nations: The Glory of an Iron Age, which extirpated Humanity and Learning, and reduced the most useful and exalted of the Species, into a Subjection to a Brutal and Savage Dominion.

This, saith *Plutarch*, was to be great, as a Flood, or Hurricane, that swept all before it. He commends *Aristides* therefore for meriting the Name of *Justus*, rather than that of *Magnus*.

If *Tully* had droll'd upon the Poets for putting in their Claim for the Honour of their Works, he might have been thought more in Earnest. Even *Homer's* Intention is ludicrous in Comparison of the Philosophers. Tho' he hath kept up a Reverence to his Gods, and preserved Decency in their Worship, and shewed due Respect to Morality, he hath yet made the Pictures of his Heroes such as to be of bad Example to Mankind. *Hector* drawn at *Achilles* Chariot Wheel, was too bold a Pattern for *Alexander* to copy after, and shewed the Ambition of a Poet to excel in his Art, rather than in Beneficence to Mankind.

The *Sitomagus* of Mr. *Baxter* is placed at *Hemingford Abbot*, in *Huntingdonshire*, out of whose Ruins he will have the Town of *St. Ives*, antiently called *Slepe*, to have risen. He will read the Name *Ritomagus*, tho' the *Itinerary* hath *Sitomagus*, and the *Pentingerian Tables*, *Sinomagi*.
 “ *Si Venta Icenorum Crocolanum est sive An-*
 “ *caster & Camboritum sive Cambretovium Che-*
 “ *sterford sicuti nos opinamur, Ritomagus etiam*
 “ *erit quod modo est Hemingford Abbatis.*”

This is such a Leap, as I cannot pretend to follow him at. He hath no Pretence, that I know of, from the *Itinerary*, to make *Sitomagus* a Station intermediate to *Crococolana* and *Camboritum*. Nor hath he any thing at *Hemingford*, but a Flat, where we should look for more remarkable Remains, than upon an Eminence fortified by Nature. All, at last, depends upon his arbitrary Change of the Letter *S* for *R*. *Ritomagus* he produces no Authority for, not so much as one discarded Copy. But because, admitting it written so, he hath a Chance for an Etymology, he is so hardy to set it up for *Roman*. This Etymon is, “ *Ritui mæis Campus scilicet & Civitas ad tra-*
 “ *jectum fluminis.* And what is there in this to determine

determine the Place, a Place where nothing of Fortification is to be seen, nor any Spot by Nature formed for one? This would serve any low Situation in the World, and here favours of nothing but *Ipse dixit*, but Arbitrary Sway.

Upon this Foot, that is, upon shewing there is yet no Footing, I may proceed to find *Sitomagus* at *New Bokenham* in *Norfolk*, twenty-two Miles from *Cambretonium Ickleham*, the Way I propos'd to go it by *Herling*.

Here is a Square of about twenty Acres still enclos'd by a Rampart; in great Part the Ditch also remains. This stands in the Line from *Icklingham* to *Tasborow*, and to *Yarmouth*, except the small Circuit of two Miles already mention'd. After this Compass of two Miles, we come into the Line again at *Bokenham*. Upon this *Roman* Scite, as I presume, from being upon the *Ermine-street*, and at proper Distance from the preceding and following Station, have the *Normans* made a Fortification of their own. It hath been observed, the *Saxons* followed *Roman* Choice, taking their Camps and Cities after them. And sometimes this is the solitary Argument brought to prove a Place antiently *Roman*, because the *Saxons* fortified it: But here there is more than Probability for the Thing. The exterior Defence of the *Romans*, encloseth the *Norman* Castle, which, with all its Works, takes up but about eight Acres of the twenty, and these eight are about the Middle of the other, upon the highest Ground. A Stream runs just below, which is always a Proof of *Roman* Choice, and the Whole hath the Benefit of the South-East Sun. I call the new Work *Norman*, and not *Saxon*, from the Epithet New, given to this *Bockenham*, in Distinction from the Old. The Old had a
more

more antient Castle, as appears from the History of the Monastery in the *Monasticon*.

Mr. *Camden* makes the Founder of *New Bokenham* Castle *William D' Aubigny*, from whom descended the Earls of *Arundel*. Five of this Family enjoyed the Title, and it was extinct in the Year 1243. *Camden* further saith, This Castle came in the Time of *Henry III.* to the *Totfals*, by Marriage, and from them, by *Caly* and *Clifton*, to the *Knyvets*. Of this he had, doubtless, some Evidence, or he would not have said it: As he has not produced any, I should imagine the Estate rather sold off; because *Richard Fitz-Alen* descended of the Lady *Isabel*, Sister of *Hugh D' Aubigny*, the last Earl of *Arundel* of this Name, was Earl of *Arundel* after him; unless there were more Sisters and another had *Bokenham* for her Purparty.

The Scite of the Castle within a very broad and deep Moat is of about an Acre and Half; a high Rampart within the Moat encloses it. In the South-East Corner is a round Building, divided into two Apartments, the Walls of Flint four Foot thick, used, perhaps, for a Storehouse. It hath antiently been covered. Next it are the Foundations of other Buildings. On the East Side the Castle, without the great Moat, is another semicircular Retrenchment of two Acres, to which probably was a Drawbridge. This is of the Sort of those additional Works the Barons, in their Wars, made to increase their Castles, and which *Henry III.* upon regaining his Power, made them dismantle. On the West of the Castle remains a strong Gate, which commanded the Bridge over the Moat.

This I imagine called *New Bokenam*, and the Castle *Norman*, because it is thus distinguish'd from the next Vill called *Old Bokenham*. This *Old*

Bokenham had a Castle built probably in the Saxon Times, because the Founder of the Priory there, who in the confirming Charter of *Edward II.* is called *Willielmus Comes Cicestriae*, gives to the Monks—*Infra Parcum cum Bosco & Plano cum sede Castellum 80 acras & Castellum diruendum.* This Priory was dedicated to *St. James* for the Order of *St. Augustin.* When it was endowed I do not find; but we must believe the Castle old and in a ruinous Condition, when a great Man of that Time gave it to build a Monastery. Here are yet to be seen some Pieces of the Walls, which may, perhaps, last long enough to shew Posterity of what Sort of Tenure it is, after the Distinction of Devoted and Common shall be worn out and gone.

The Scite of the old Castle is yet visible. The Keep contains an Acre; without it about seven Acres were entrenched. This is upon a Flat, and therefore not so capable of Defence as that of *New Bokenham*; but for the Richness of the Soil may be called *Felix*, compared with the neighbouring Country where the Fern over-tops the Corn. In both are large Farms belonging to *Mr. Holbeach of Warwickshire*; the Tythes sold off, except from the Lands of the Lord. This fruitful Spot makes good what a Quaker said to his Master, who set him to enquire after Part of his Estate, whether it were Church Lands or not, upon some Scruples the pious Knight of *Norfolk* had infused into him; *Thee needst not fear thine were Abbey Lands, for they enjoyed the Fat of the Land, and thine is very poor.*

Asto the Derivation of the Name, it seems to be either from *Buchen*, which signifies *Beech Trees*, from the Plenty of which *Buckinghamshire* is named, and these might once be plentifully here; or from *Boc*, which means an honourable Tenure,

as *Bocland* is opposed to *Folkland*. The Name in Charters of the Priory is sometimes *Bucbeham*, and sometimes *Bukeham*; the bringing it from Plenty of Deer (*Bucks*) the *Saxon* will not admit. The County of *Bucks* hath a much better Pretence to that Etymology, yet the Adept constantly give the other.

Between this Place and *Euston* is seen, in Summer, a Sort of Bird the Country People have no Name for, which is of the Colour of a Snipe, and twice as large as the whole Snipe. It hovers over Ponds in the Fields where Flags grow, and keeps it self up in the same manner as a Buzzard, spying out his Prey. Their Employment seems to be *captare muscas*.

Hence our Line of *Ermine-Street* carries us by *Tasborough* to the Ferry upon the *Tare*, near *South Bucknam*, and so to *Tarmouth*, the Period of this *Roman Way*. The Works of *Tasborough* are probably *Roman*, whether a *Manse* or *Æstiva*, I will not determine, no more than I can of *Caister*, within three Miles of *Norwich*. This Part of *England* lying towards the *German Shore*, had it, may be, a Concourse of Merchants or Traders that found their Account in settling here. There might be a Trade in those Days from *Norfolk*, to export Corn and Wool, which might encourage the *Romans* to protect it by Fortification.

It will now be expected that I call *Tarmouth*, or the adjoining *Castor*, *Venta Icenorum*, as being the Entrance to *England* from *Germany*, and consequently the most proper Port on this Side the Island.

This, by the very Name *Gariononum*, as situate upon the Mouth of the *Tare*, and the *Terminus* of the *Ermine-Street*, must be the Port where was in *Garrison*, according to the *Notitia*, The

Præpositus Equitum Stablefianorum Garianensis
under the *Comes Tractus Maritimi*.

The Reason for disputing this, hath been no other but that *Venta Icenorum* must be fixed hereabouts. Mr. Camden would have *Gariononum* at *Burgh-Castle* in *Suffolk*, not, indeed, for that Reason, but, because he took *Tarmouth* to be new, and not of Antiquity enough for *Gariononum*. His *Venta Icenorum*, in which he has also been long followed, was *Castor* near *Norwich*. *Castor* hath a Title to be *Roman*, but we have no Name for it but the present, which is *Saxon*. And many Cities, Camps, Forts there are left us by that People which come not into the *Itinerary*, nor the Description of Chorographers. Possibly they might, at one Time, be occupied, and afterwards deserted for more convenient Situations: Or they might be necessary in the first gaining the Country, which being gained, fewer Garrisons would secure. This *Gariononum* lay so much exposed to *Saxon* Pirates, that there was no Security in a Settlement there, without a Fortification.

Whether *Castor*, adjoining to *Tarmouth*, was the Place, or *Tarmouth* it self, 'tis not much worth disputing, any more than whether *Burgh-Castle* in *Suffolk* was. There is not Light enough to be had to determinethis Matter. At *Burgh Castle* are certainly Remains of *Roman* Work, the Wall nine Foot thick, made of Courses of *Roman* Bricks, and then Flints, then one above the other quite through, including five Acres, shews the Thing: But this stands upon the *Waveney*, not the *Tare*, which spoils the Etymology. If I may guess, the Town was either continued from *Castor* to *Burgh Castle*, which would be four Miles in Length, or it stood about the Mouth of the *Tare*, and was defended by this Work of *Burgh-Castle* on one Side, and by the like at *Castor* on the other; for
here

here was, perhaps, more Danger from the *Saxon* Pyrates than upon any Part of the Coast. Mr. *Camden* had received a Notion which hath prevailed, but every Man, upon better Conviction, hath the Liberty to retract it, that the *Tare* had antiently its Mouth at *Castor*, now stopped up by the Sands drove in by the North-East Wind. This would make the Difference in Situation but of a Mile or two, and therefore not worth contending about. And *Camden's* Difficulty about which Side the River *Old* or *New Tarmouth* stood, is of no greater Consequence. The Inhabitants might change Sides as Convenience directed: And as *Ptolomy's Londinium* was on the *Surrey* Side the *Thames*, and afterwards the *Augusta* was planted on the other, this might be the Fate of *Gariannonum*.

This Place, one would believe, hath been inhabited ever since the *Roman* Times, for the sake of Herring Fishing. The Harbour may have been filled up, or the Earth worn away by the Sea, which should make the People sometimes shift their Habitations; but they would be near the Place where is the greatest Concourse of these Fish, which serve more Markets than any thing the Sea or Earth produce. The Constancy of these Creatures being, about Spawning Time, regularly upon one Coast for a Number of Days, and then moving to another, is very remarkable. Those that fish for them know to a Day how long they will continue in one Place, and whither they will remove, except at two or three Places where there is an Uncertainty of two Days only. There was, about thirty Years since, a most exact Account printed and laid before the Parliament for the Encouragement of this Fishery, in which the stated Days of their appearing at their usual Stations, and the great Number of Markets they are car-

ried to, were particularly mention'd. From the Pier here is an agreeable Prospect to the Sea, whence one views the Ships bound to *London* from the *Black Indies*, as they are called.

Here, and at *Burgh-Castle* in *Suffolk*, it is probable were Forts for the Defence of Shipping against the *Saxon* Pyrates, for Coasters and Foreign Traders, as well as for the Herring Fishing.

Admitting *Yarmouth* to be the *Terminus* of the *Ermine-Street* from *Regnum*, I go on with the ninth Journey of *Antoninus*, and come to *Venta Icenorum*: It's true, I have hitherto come the contrary Way to the Journey, which began with *Venta Icenorum*, and came to *Londinium*; but the Thing is the same at whatever *Terminus* I begin, and the Stations will be the same. Had I began with the seventh Journey from *Regnum*, I had ended at *London*: Had I began with the ninth from *Venta Icenorum*, I had ended also at *London*, which being the Middle, I chose to go from one End to the other in the Course of the *Street* from *Calleva*, through *London* to *Norfolk*.

I need make no Excuses for this grand Deflection, to the Left from *Sitomagus*, *New Bucknam* to *Venta Icenorum*, where I place it, having already shewn, by Example of other Journeys, they were not always strait and direct. The Second, the Fifth, the Sixth, the Eighth, and others which I have not yet had Occasion to mention, prove evidently that the Design was to visit Stations, which were taken in as they lay, by inclining to the Right or Left as Occasion was: And this must have been their Course, and is the Course at present, of all that would visit the Garrisons of a Country, which Nature has not contrived in a Line, but which are taken from their Situation upon an Eminence for Strength, or upon a River for Convenience.

My

My next Work is to shew, that the Distance answers to the *Itinerary*, and that I find Remains of Fortification at the Place pitch'd upon; the first of which Points cannot be cleared from *Tarmouth* or *Castor*, if we imagine either of them the *Venta*, many Miles being wanting of the Thirty-one prescribed us.

This I take to be *Brancaſter*, on the North-Eaſt Coaſt of the County, not far from *St. Edmund's Cape* and *Hunſanton*, now pronounced *Hunſtan*, a Seat of the Family of *Le-Strange*. This Place, by others, is called *Branodunum*, according to the *Notitia Imperii*, the Station of the *Præpoſitus Equitum Dalmatorum Branodunenſis Branaduno*. The Reaſons for calling this *Venta*, follow after the Way to it is deſcribed. The Way is from *New Bokenam*, to *Old Bokenham*, to *Attleborough*, to *Hingham*, to *Market-Deerham*, to *Fakenham*, to *Creak*, to *Burnham*, thence to *Brancaſter*, the Number of Miles being Thirty-one.

I don't pretend to find the *Roman Agger* from *Bokenham* to *Brancaſter*. This, in many Parts of *England*, is to be ſeen, the Stone Cauſeway ſtill remaining, as from *Canterbury* to the Sea-ſide. Near *Lincoln* it is alſo viſible, where it was raiſed upon a dry Soil, that did not require it, unleſs to maintain the Straitneſs of the Road, and, perhaps, to keep in Work their own Soldiers, or the *Britons* that would have been the worſe for Lazineſs. From *Surrey* to *Suffex* it is ſometimes found by Accident, ſuch as digging deep Ditches or Drains, buried under the preſent Superficies. The like may be obſerved in many Parts of *England*. The moſt common Way, at preſent, of diſcovering a Military Way, is from the Straitneſs and the Breadth of it: And though that Breadth be ſometimes loſt, we find it again recovered and again loſt.

lost. And where we find not the proper Breadth, we may imagine private Men have incroached upon the Publick, for the Publick can incroach upon No-body. The Waste belongs to the Lord of the Manor, and if the Tenants have made bold with him, they will not suffer the Waste to trespass upon their Lands.

This Sort of Evidence one may frequently see between *Bokenam* and *Brancafter*, that the Road is of *Roman* Breadth, but nothing of Causeway. And, perhaps, it is for this Reason, that the Roads in *Norfolk* are naturally so good, that there was in some Part of it no *Agger*, because no occasion for any; and we need not bestow our Pains to look for what a more sagacious People could find unnecessary.

Upon this Road, two or three Things may be worth a Traveller's Observation: That, by the Register Book of *Market-Deerham*, it appears, that *Dr. Edmund Bonner*, afterwards Bishop of *London*, was Rector there, his own Hand being to the Book. This is a Rectory without Office, a kind of *Sine-Cure*, the Vicar doing the whole Duty upon the Vicarial Dues.

That, at *North-Elmham*, in that Neighbourhood, have been found within a few Years, great Quantities of Urns, with Ashes and Cynders of Bones. The Place hath no Pretence, that I know of, to be *Roman*, but there might be, whilst we were a Province, some great *Roman*, or Number of *Romans*, Inhabitants of it, or *Britons* that followed the *Roman* Fashions. As it lies upon the Line from *Brancafter* towards *Combretonium*, and more Southern Stations, its Situation might invite some *Romans* to settle there: But these Things are frequently found where no Vestigia of *Roman* Settlement are thought of; some, last Year, of different Form and different Earth, with Bones

in them burnt to Cynders, in the Vicarage Garden of *Furneux Pelham* in *Hertfordshire*.

Elmham is noted for nothing more than the See of the Bishop, who had *Norfolk* under his Jurisdiction, when the Bishop of *Dunwich* had *Suffolk*, the two Dioceses being erected out of the Bishoprick of the *East-Angles* about the Year 673. There was a particular Revenue belonging to the Bishops of this See, but whether settled upon them whilst it was at *Elmham*, *Thetford*, or *Norwich*, I do not find. This was the first Fruits of all the Benefices of the Diocese. This hath in it the Air of primitive Religion, and seems copied from the appointed Maintenance of *Aaron*, who, as High-Priest, was to receive of the *Levites* the Tenth of their Tythe. Nor is it easy to guess why these were exchanged by King *Henry VIII.* for the Lands of *St. Bennet in the Holm*. The Statute which takes away all the Lands from the Bishop of *Norwich*, and the First Fruits, and in Lieu gives him the Lands of the Monastery, asserts them to be of more Value than what was taken away, which No-body can dispute: But it will still be a Question, why a Spiritual Perquisite is not more suitably lodged in Spiritual Hands, when the Temporal Power that makes the Exchange is a Loser by it?

Here are, about this Part of the Country, Lands belonging to the Crown, particularly at *Market-Deerham*, granted upon long Leases. Whether these once belonged to the See of *Norwich*, before the Exchange, I cannot find; nor whether they were a Part of those Manors and Lands Sir *Henry Spelman* says the Church lost in the Time of *Edmund Scaulter*, by others called *Edmund Scambler*, Bishop in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. This Prelate, saith Sir *Henry*, in his History of Sacrilege, did as much as well he might,

might, to impoverish the Church, made a Lease of most of the Manors and Lands thereof, and amongst them, of the two Abbeys of *Blackborough* and *Wrongey*, annex'd to the Bishoprick, to Queen *Elizabeth* for Twenty-nine Years, at the lowest Rent he might. Here was no Pretence of Exchange. But where there was in the neighbouring Diocess of *Ely*, the Advantage does not appear to be on the Church's Side, if we consider the Equivalent for the three Manors in *Hertfordshire*.

The new *Camden* quotes Sir Henry *Spelman* for saying the Camp of *South Creak* is a large Saxon Fortification. I don't find any Proofs of its being Saxon. The Name it goes at present by, is *Bur-dykes*. It is but a small Camp single ditch'd. Its being round, perhaps, makes it pass for the Work of any People rather than Roman. 'Tis true, the Ground would have admitted it of any Form, and 'tis made round upon Choice. But that does not exclude it from being Roman, and probably it serv'd for *Æstiva* to *Venta Icenorum*, and might have been occupied by Saxons or Danes afterwards. It overlooks the Country a great way, and stands above *Creyke Abbey*, in the Charters call'd *Abbatia de Prato inter North Creyke & Burnham*. The Founder was *Robertus de Nerford*; it was dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, the Monks were of the Order of *St. Augustine*.

In this, and some neighbouring Villages, is a particular Method of Spinning for the Stuff-Weavers. The Women carry their Rock under their Arm, and twist with their other Hand. Their Work is said to be finer than that made with a Wheel. They earn less than those that use a Wheel, but are well contented, because their Way is better suited for Conversation, for they walk about from one Place to another whilst they work.

Burnham,

Burnham, or *Burnham Market*, in some Authorities is *Brunham*, and *Brunhamthorp*, which seems to take its Name from Burning in the Time of the *Danish Ravages*, and I believe *Brancaſter* to be from the ſame.

Our Line from *Bucknam* to *Brancaſter*, carries us cloſe by the Camp of *Burdykes*, which will incline any Man to think it *Roman*, and its Diſtance is ſuitable for *Exploratores*.

Brancaſter being allowed *Roman*, I have no Trouble but to produce my Probabilities that it is the *Venta Icenorum*. The Reason of making it *Branodunum*, is from the firſt Syllable of the Name, the ſame with the Modern. A Syllable is but very ſlender Evidence, eſpecially if we conſider the two laſt of *Brancaſter* are evidently *Saxon*, and probably the firſt from *Brenning*, or *Brent*, and ſo it would mean the *Burnt City*.

Where *Branodunum* ſtood, 'tis not eaſy to determine, becauſe we find it only in the *Notitia*, which gives us no Diſtances as the *Itinerary* does. Future Searches may give Light. This may be ſaid, That bating the firſt Syllable of the Name, it hath leſs Title to *Brancaſter* than *Venta Icenorum*. *Venta* hath as good a Right as *Branodunum* to be provided for, and a better Title to a Settlement here, becauſe it hath Diſtance on its Side.

That *Venta* means the Capital, or Chief Town of a Country, may be allow'd to Mr. *Baxter*, who derives it from *Pen*. *Venta Belgarum* is acknowledged to be ſo; and ſo, perhaps, would *Venta Silurum*, if it were as rightly placed. But this Author's Artillery may be eaſily turn'd againſt him, where he argues from *Ravennas*, that *Venta Icenorum* is another Name for *Ancaſter* or *Crococolana*, and that the *Lindenſes* were the *Majores Icenii*. I quote the Names as Mr. *Baxter* has done from his own Edition, the laſt only being the
material

material Point. *Camuloduno, Colonia, Durocinante, Durobrigâ, Duroviguto, Ventâ Icenorum, Lindum Colonia.* Because *Lindum Colonia* follows *Venta Icenorum*; *Venta* must be in *Lincolnshire*, he saith, and at a Place too that hath already, according to him, a Name. The Monk seems more plainly here to have followed the ninth Journey of *Antoninus*, than in any other Part of his Chorography, except that he hath inverted the Order, and from *Londinium Augusta* comes to *Cæsaromagum*, and so to *Camulodunum*. After *Venta Cenonum*, as he hath it, or *Venta Icenorum*, as the *Vatican*, comes *Lindum Colonia*, and by no means repugnant to my Scheme. Supposing *Brancaſter* the *Venta*, and that a Traveller having kept the direct Course from *London* to *Bokenham*, then, according to the *Itinerary*, gone to the North-West Coast of *Norfolk Brancaſter*, whither shall he turn his Eyes in the Map but to *Lincolnshire* and *Lindum*, across the *Metaris Œſtuarium*?

This Liberty by People indulged to themselves, of rejecting what hath been hitherto undisputed; for the *Ignis fatuus* of Etymology, puts us in a fair Way of being given up to the Guidance of meer Fancy, and would make one sick of Improvements.

Brancaſter stands along the Shore for half a Mile. Vessels of 60 Tons come up hither and carry off Corn to *Holland* and other Places. At that Part next to *Burnham* is the fortified Ground of 8 Acres, being a Sort of Square, the *Vallum* and Ditch very visible. It is by the Inhabitants thought that these eight Acres were enclosed by a Stone Wall, but then the Wall of Earth and the Fosse would have been useless. There was, indeed, a Wall of Flint and very hard Mortar dug out of the Road South of the *Vallum*, of about a hundred Yards long a few Years ago. But that had no relation to the Camp, as being without the Ditch, and
belong'd

belong'd to some Building, of which no other Part remains. The Materials of this Wall were employ'd in building the great Malt-House hard by. This is esteem'd the largest in the World, and lies upon the Shore so that Vessels may be laden from it. But the Contriver is reproved by every Spectator; the two Cisterns being capable each of wetting a Hundred and forty Quarters of Barley, but the Floors not admitting half that Quantity to be driven.

The present State of *Brancaſter* may be very different from the more Antient. The Sea here hath gain'd ſo much upon the Land, that the principal Part of the Town may be obliterated. About *Hunſanton*, the Seat of *Le-Strange*, there is a Cliff which defends the Inhabitants from any Inroads. There ſometimes falls into the Sea a Piece of Earth of Five hundred Tons Weight. On the contrary, on this flat Shore the Earth is gradually waſh'd away in ſome Places, and in others enlarg'd by Heaps of Sand driven up. In thoſe Lands over which the Spring Tides come, are to be ſeen, for two Miles together, Roots of Trees from which the Bodies have been ſawn off. Here one muſt ſuppoſe dry Land to have been when the Trees flouriſh'd.

At ſome Diſtance towards the Eaſt, are ſome Mounts rais'd by Sport of the Winds whirling the lighter Particles of the Sands till they make a large Maſs, and are as high as the Church Steeple. That which hath made them permanent, is a Seed that has been blown up at the ſame Time, which taking Root in the Sand, combines the Surface againſt being the Prey of that Wind that brought it. The Plant is call'd, as I remember, *Marram*, a Sort of Brooms are made of it. On this flat Shore the Mackrel do not delight, but Crabs and Lobſters abound.

Accord-

According to this Scheme, that *Brancaſter* was the *Venta Icenorum*, it will be thought a very round-about Way from *London* by which we came; or, according to the Ninth Journey of the *Itinerary*, the Road from thence to *London*, will be eſteem'd much out of the Way. I have already urged, that the Journies of *Antoninus* were to viſit Stations as they lay, and not to contrive Stations which ſhould lie in a Line. But I queſtion not that there was a more direct Way from *Brancaſter* to *London*, or to *Combretonium*, than that by which the Journey leads. And if an Expreſs were to have been ſent, or Troops march'd from more Southern Garrifons, they had a Way by *Swaffam* and *Brandon*, to *Combretonium* and *Camulodunum*.

The new *Camden* gives ſome Countenance to this, mentioning at *Weeting*, near *Brandon Ferry*, a fine green Way, call'd *Walsingham Way*, being the Road for Pilgrims to the Lady of *Walsingham*. It is much more probable that this was the Military Way from *Brancaſter* to *Brandon*, and ſo to *Combretonium*; that the Pilgrims uſed it as a plain and direct Way. If we look at *Dugdale's* Account of the draining the Fens, we find the Traces of a Roman Way of 24 Miles in Length, from *Peterburgh* to *Denvers Sluys*, in this County. The *Agger* was Three Footthick and Sixty broad. This was made with great Labour and Expence. One of the chief Purpoſes of it muſt be to keep Communication with *Norfolk*, and, by its pointing, with *Brancaſter* in particular. It might be continued by *Lynn*, or go off to the Right, and fall in with *Walsingham Way* near *Brandon*. We know Roads were made by the Romans, but can hardly find any on purpoſe for Pilgrims; and we ſhould leaſt look for them in a Country where no Cauſeways are wanting, where all that the Romans did,

was,

was, perhaps, clearing the Way from Furze and Fern, that might obstruct its even and visible Course.

By the Side of this Way from *Brancaſter*, are, at about Ten Miles to the South, in a Common belonging to *Burcham*, ſome Barrows of the *Celtic* Kind, if they are to be deemed ſuch, from the Foffe that is about them. One hath been lately dug through for Curioſity, and nothing found; nor was any Thing to be expected under a ditch'd one. Another next it is particular. The Ditch goes round, except about Twenty Yards on the South-weſt, which ſeems to have been left ſo for more graceful Entrance and Aſcent, whatever Purpoſe it was erected for.

As we go on towards *Swaffam*, we meet at *Caſtle Acre* with the Ruins of the Caſtle and the Monaſtery: A great deal of both remain. The Keep on the Weſt Side is ſtill embattled. The Scite of the whole Caſtle ſeems to have taken up Five Acres. The Hiſtory of the Foundation of the Houſe calls it *Caſtel acrenſis Prioratus in agro Norfolciendiſi fundatus an. 1090*, Dedicated to *St. Mary* for *Cluniac* Monks. The Founder is called *Willielmus Comes de Suthereia*: In ſome Charters, *Willielmus de Warennæ Comes Sudregiæ*, *Willielmus Secundus Comes*, & *Willielmus Tertius Comes de Warennâ*. Cells to it in *Norfolk*, were the Priories of *Mendham*, *Bromholm*, *Reinham*, *Sliveſholm*. The Prior of *Reynham*, in one of his publick Acts, recorded in the *Monasti-con*, ſtiles himſelf in the Pope's Language, *Rogerus ſervus ſervorum Dei, Prior humilis de Reynham*.

At the North-eaſt Corner of the Wall, that encloſes the Scite of the Priory, ſtands a ſmall Stone Building, ſuppoſed to have been the Almonry. Over the principal Gate are ſeveral Coats of Arms cut in Stone, all of which, and more, are
in

in a bow Window of the Prior's Dining-Room, as I take it to have been. In many Places of the Window is *J. W.* meaning some *Warren* with a Christian Name beginning with that Letter, and a Motto, *Confirma me Spiritu principali*. In the middle Pane are Arms of *France* and *England*, a white Rose crown'd: On the Right, *Gules* a Gryphon *Argent* Rampant, quene forchee: Against this on the Left, chequee *Argent* and *Or*. On the Right, these two last quartered: On the Left, 1, the Gryphon quartered with these, 2, quarterly, 1 *Gules* frette *Or*, 2 *Argent* a chief *Azure*, 3 as 2, 4 as 1. Next is a Cross chequee *Azure* and *Or* between 12 Crosses patee fitch. In another Window a red Rose is crown'd. The Proprietor is Mr. *Coke*. The Estate was purchased of *William* Earl of *Exeter*, by Sir *Edward Coke*, Lord Chief Justice. Part of the Chapel, Refectory and Cloysters are to be seen, with more of the Buildings, of which one cannot guess at the Use.

In this Neighbourhood resided the great Sir *Henry Spelman*; Who, and What he was, his own Works shew. There are near *Narborough*, where he dwelt, some Fortifications upon a Hill, not so far out of the Road from *Brancafter* to *Brandon*, but one might imagine them *Roman*, and design'd for the Security of this Part of the Country, if it were not for the Line drawn from thence toward *Reech*, where the *Devil's Ditch* points. This Work can hardly be *Roman*; if it were for a *British* Division before the *Romans* came here, the Camp might be taken afterwards: Or if it were for *Saxon* Division or Defence, the *Saxons* or *Danes* might use this Camp, though the *Romans* were Authors of the Camp only, and not of the Bank. It's true, there are here and in *Cambridgeshire*, so many of these Banks, as to puzzle any Man that will undertake to give an Account of them.

them. They were very probably thrown up as Defences and Mounds of one Man's District, which encreas'd, by gaining upon his Neighbour by Force or Composition, produc'd a more distant Limit. One crosses *Newmarket* Heath, within a Mile of *Newmarket*, pointing from *Bury* to *Ely*, the Design of which I don't find any Body guessing at.

Before we leave *Norfolk*, and the *Brancafter* or *Walsingham* Way, we must, as other Pilgrims, admire the Skill and the Religion of the Tinker of *Swaffam*, whose *Exuviae*, Fame teaches us to find carved in the Woodwork of one of the Isles of that Church, as Founder. If what is got by stopping one Hole, tho' Two be left, were employ'd in building Churches, the History would be of no ill Example to Posterity. 'Tis possible, I believe, to find some other Meaning in the Carving, than a Tinker and his Dog. But so well it suits the present Age, fond of a Retinue, that no body will go about to dispute the Beauty of the Thought.

As we pass to *Cambridgeshire*, we come at *Lynn Regis*; antiently Sir *Henry Spelman* thinks *Len*, signifying a Farm. *Len Episcopi*, as it was call'd till the Time of *Henry VIII.* he makes to signify the Bishop's Farm, and upon the Exchange, it became the King's Town. *Old Lynn* on the other side the *Ouse*, is said to have flourish'd in elder Times, and the present rose out of its Ruins.

The Question rais'd by Sir *Henry*, about the Antiquity of their Mayor's Sword, hath made many of his Opinion, that the Thing is more modern, and that it was a Present to the Corporation from *Henry VIII.* The Inscription without doubt is modern, and the History of its being put on about the Year 1580 may be true, though the Sword were really given them by King *John*.

The Privilege, it seems, of having a Mayor, was granted by *Henry III.* consequently no use of a Sword till that Reign to carry before him. King *John's Præpositus* might be treated with as great State as his Son *Henry's* Mayor. For *Lenn* having been the Place where his Loyal Subjects had their principal Refuge and Defence, and where he lodg'd his Treasure, it is no wonder that he should reward its Services with the highest Proofs of Respect. *Matthew Paris* tells us, that when he lost his whole Baggage and Carriages, with his Regalia and portable Riches, it was in carrying them from hence; that they were all swallowed up in the *Well-stream*, another Name for the *Ouse*.

The Patent Office, of the last Year of his Reign, shews him to have been at *Lenn* then by the following Act; *Rex omnibus - - - - - sciatis quod die Martis proxima post Festum sancti Dionysii anno 18 Recepinus in Camera nostra apud Lenn centum marcas argente per manus Agathæ Trussebut uxoris Willielme de Albinio de Fine ejusdem Willielmi quem nobiscum fecit pro deliberatione suâ. Et in hujus - - - - - Teste apud Lenn 11 die Octob.*

The same Historian gives us some Light into the Motives that brought back some of the Barons, and would have brought more of them in Time to King *John*: That the Count *de Melun*, who came over with *Louis* of *France*, and assisted the Barons against King *John*; upon his Death-Bed at *London*, call'd some of the Barons to him, and made this Confession; That *Louis* had sworn with Sixteen Earls and Barons of *France*, that when he had conquer'd *England* and was crown'd, he would for ever banish all those that fought for him, and persecuted King *John*, as Traytors; that himself was one that took this Oath he asserts, as he hopes for Salvation.

Such a Thing as this might work powerfully, though there were nothing in it but Report, no more than an *Irish Fright*. But Facts are the best Expounders of Words. These Barons saw, notwithstanding their Remonstrances, this faithful Ally of theirs placed a *French* Governor in every Castle they took from the King. They had Reason enough to suspect what Treatment they should have from their Deliverer, *Non equitem dorso* — whether *Melin* foretold it or not. They could not think it the Intention of a Prince, whose Business it was to quell the Power of his Barons at Home, to come hither to enlarge the Privilege of Barons Abroad, but true genuine Interest, which by this Time had alarm'd them.

The most powerful Argument with them, seems at last to have been the King's making their Estates, which they held of him *in Capite*, forfeited; and his disposing of these Estates amongst his Adherents. For in that Case they had less hope upon a Change, to come into their own again, when the *Hydra* Possessors were so powerfully retain'd to keep them out.

The Mayor's Sword is inscrib'd, *Taken from the King's own Side*. The Sword doth not look like one to fight with, and if it were worn for State and Ornament, methinks it would hardly have been so cumbersome.

The Annotations upon *Camden*, which mention *Præpositus* for the Title of the chief Officer in King *John's* Reign, do not specify the Date of the Act. If it did not mean *Mayor*, it is yet plain, that in the last Year of that King, *Lenn* had a *Mayor*, as appears from the Commission given to receive and protect the Royalists, dated at the *Devizes Jun. 7.* to be found in the Patent Rolls.

Rex Majori & probis Hominibus Lenn salutem. Mandamus vobis quod per consilium Fulconis de Oytry, Willielmi de Ros, Willielmi Bigod, & Willielmi Gernon, recipiatis in Villa Lenn omnes quos videritis esse ad fidem nostram. Teste - - - -

The Annotations take notice of the same Genius in the People hereabouts for King Charles II. *That the Harbour was fortified, and considerable Forces prepar'd by Sir Horace Townsend of Raynam, in order to the Restoration.*

Nor can this be spoken of without paying that Debt to the Memory of a Norfolk Knight, which Lovers of Wit or Stile will not deny. Sir Roger L'Estrange was taken up in the Neighbourhood, tried and condemn'd for a Spy, being found, as was alledg'd, within the Parliament Quarters. He disputed some Circumstances, by which they would make a Spy of him, but was over-ruled; then bravely denied the Authority of the Court that sentenced him. He was within an Hour or Two of making his Exit, *sub Dio*, when a Trumpet from the King's General reclaim'd him, with the engaging Argument of threatning to hang up as Spies, some Prisoners he had in his Hands.





A NEW
SURVEY
OF
ENGLAND.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE,



ACCORDING to the Roman Division of *Britain*, was a Part of the *Iceni* ; according to the *Saxon*, a Part of the Kingdom of the *East Angles*. It is bounded on the North by *Northamptonshire* and *Lincolnshire*, on the East by *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, on the South by *Essex* and *Hertfordshire*, on the West by *Huntingdonshire* and *Bedfordshire*. In it is included the Isle of *Ely*.

About the *Saxon* Name of this County, are different Opinions ; every Man seems to have been more lucky in batteling his Neighbour's Etymology, than in supporting his own.

By Authors, 'tis written *Grantabrygscyr*, *Grent-brygscyre*, *Grantebrygscire*, *Cantebriggescire*. Pains have been taken to form one of these Words out of the other; but it must be with great Force upon tender Consciences, to bring *Grant* from *Cam*, or *Cam* from *Grant*. The fairest Way of deriving the Name, hath been from the River or Rivers. One of them is generally call'd *Cam* by Authors, which riseth at *Henham* in *Essex*, and running by *Audely* Inn and *Chesterford*, receives near *Haslingfield*, another Stream that rose at *Ashwell* in *Hertfordshire*, and came by *Shingay* and *Arrington* to the Confluence abovemention'd. The *Cam* is suppos'd to keep its Name, passing thro' *Cambridge*, till it falls into the *Ouse* near *Ely*.

The Stream from *Ashwell*, goes generally by the Name of *Rhee*, an old *British* Appellative of Rivers in general. The Dean of *York* in his Commentary upom *Camboritum*, supposes this *Rhee* to have been once called *Grant*, and that *Grantaceaster* by *Bede*, called *vetus Civitatula* stands upon it. Admitting this, of which there is no Proof, we must lose *Cam* to take in *Grant*. For this *Grant*, as hath been said, falls into the other about *Haslingfield*, and one of the Names must be absorbed.

There is, by the way, a Place in *Glostershire* near the *Severn*, by some called *Quatbridge*, in the Maps written *Cambridge*, to which the *Danes* marched over the Country, when they were disappointed of returning to the *Thames* from *Ware*, by *Alfred*. That, if the true Name be *Cambridge*, I should imagine derived from *Camp-ridge*, in Memory of a *Danish* Fortification there. It stands upon a small Stream.

As to the other Branch, the *Cam*, I don't find it called so any where from its Rise, till it comes to *Cambridge*; I believe it never had a Name till the

the Town had that of *Cambridge*, and then the River was called *Cam*. The *British* Signification of it *Crooked*, hath but little in it to denominate a River. Where is there a straight one? Or where is this more crooked than ordinary?

Whether *Granchester* were the more antient Seat of Learning, removed hither after some *Danish* Depredation, I shall not lose Time to enquire, having no Helps to decide the Matter. Or whether the *Saxons* called any thing *Ceaster* that had not *Castra* or *Castrum* of the *Romans*. Perhaps the *Saxons* might not well distinguish between what was *British* and what was *Roman* always. There might, possibly, be in some Parts of *England*, Remains of the Fortification of a *British* *Oppidum*, which the *Saxons* might call by their general Name of *Ceaster*, if they did or did not distinguish it from *Roman*. Without admitting this, it will not be possible to account for many a *Ceaster* in the Island, where the *Romans* are not known to have been, either by History or Fortification, or by Situation, fit to encamp upon. And *Godmanchester* I give as an Instance of this.

The Thing being no better agreed, we may, without Affront to any Author, try for another Fountain, both of the *Cambridge* and the *Grant-bridge*. And, perhaps, the Names may both be traced up to another Original which is not *Saxon*, and shewn to mean, one the County, the other the School or University.

The Story by *Camden*, mentioned of *Cantaber* a *Spaniard*, who read here, is ridiculous enough, if the Date be right, that it was Three hundred and Seventy-five Years before *Christ*. Whoever put this Date, did it with no other Reason than to take off from the Antiquity of the University, by fixing its Beginning so monstrously high. The next Words of *Camden*, from the old Histories of

the Place, are probably true, that *Sebert* King of the *East Angles* restor'd it, after which it lay again in Ruins for a considerable Time. This *Sebert* is by others call'd *Sigebert* the fifth King of the *East Angles*, and the Third that was a *Christian*. It is probable the Beginning of Learning was here in his Reign. We must then, alter Mr. *Camden's* Figure of 630 to 636, 637, or 638, otherwise it could not fall out in his Time.

That the Name of *Cantabrigia* was impos'd about his Time, is more probable, because then the *Saxons* made Subdivisions of their Territories, distinguishing one Part of their Kingdom from another.

We shall here be at a loss to get Credit for introducing a *Latin*, at least a foreign Name, for a *Saxon* Place, except the Seat of Learning will help us out. The *Cantabri* are well known to have inhabited that Part of *Spain* next the Bay of *Biscay*. *Camden* upon *Desmond* in *Ireland*, saith, “ The
 “ *Velabri* may seem to derive their Name from
 “ *Aber*, i. e. *Æstuaries* ; for they dwelt among
 “ such Friths, upon Parcels of Ground divided
 “ from one another by great Incurfions of the
 “ Sea ; from which the *Artabri* and *Cantabri* in
 “ *Spain* took their Names. ”

Quid bellicosus Cantaber & Scythes ?

Hor.

I may suppose then, the King of the *East-Angles* asking the Professor by what Name to distinguish this Fenny Part of his Dominions, where is sometimes a rising Ground as it were floating in the Water, such as *Chatteris*, and that he remember'd the *Cantabri*, and call'd them by the same Name. And this he might do whether a *Spaniard* or not. But since Tradition has made a *Spaniard* Professor there,

there, let him be particularly mindful of his *Natale Solum*, and pay it this Compliment.

He that will not allow me this, may be ask'd one Question, Whether *Cantabrigia* be not a Name older than *Cambridge*? *Cambridge* might come from the other. Three Strokes composing *m*, might easily come in the room of *nt*, which in antient way of Writing are but the same three Strokes. But *Cantabrigia* could never be *Latin* for *Cambridge*. *Cambrigia* is more natural, and would have been the Word if *Cambridge* had been Latinized.

As there has been a Tradition about *Cantaber*, I may be indulg'd to offer one Guess more, which may with some pass better than the former. That over the Schools some *Motto* was written expressing their Design, and the Advantage of Learning. The Word *Cantabra* then, as *Pitiscus* hath observ'd from *Septimius*, may be taken in that Sense.

“ *Cantabra Vexilla sunt quæ non tantum colore*
 “ *Militibus erant pro signo sed & carmine seu nomine*
 “ *aliquo inscripta cantabant, sive significabant illis*
 “ *quid grati & jucundi.* ”

The Name *Granchester* may be interpreted the Seat of Learning, *Apollo's Town*. If *Grannus* be frequently us'd as a Cognomen of *Apollo*, amongst the *Celts*, or People of *Asia*, it will be allow'd me that a Place set apart for the *Muses*, should have something of its Design in its Name, which was thought auspicious.

Petrinus from *Stephanus* gives us *ὑπόβοι* *Oppidum Muronæ orum Apollinis fano clarum.*

In others, *Myrinus Apollo a Myrin Æolidis urbe in qua relligiosissime colebatur.*

Γρυνεὺς Apollo a Gryneo nemore juxta Clazomenem Asiæ Civitatem in quo Apollo colebatur.

If *Apollo* was known in Scotland while the Romans were Masters there, by this Name, it is not

not at all wonderful it should be in use here. The Altar found at *Musſelburgh*, by which some would prove the *Caledonians* to descend from the antient *Gauls*, may justify this Conjecture of ours, though it prove nothing farther than that *Grannus* was so us'd by the *Romans*.

Apollini Granno Q. *Lucius Sabinianus Procos.*
Aug.

If there be any Thing about *Cambridge* or *Granchester*, proving the *Romans* to have had a Settlement there, I have never seen it. *Chesterton* I take to be named from the *Æstiva* upon *Hogmagog* Hill, as *Vadum ad Castra*. The Military Way upon which the fifth Journey of *Antonine* leads us from *Colchester* to *Lincoln*, passes the River here. And hence seems the Original of *Stourbridge* Fair kept upon the *Roman Agger*. Here was an open Road from North to South, upon which Wares of all Sorts might be easily convey'd. And this might perhaps be the Reason of Schools being set up first in the Neighbourhood, because it is the Centre of many Roads, and there was good Travelling to it.

The Castle at *Cambridge* was built by *William the Conqueror*, or perhaps, rather rebuilt upon a *Saxon* Foundation; for it is said, he order'd those of *Lincoln* and *Huntingdon* to be erected at the same Time. For the first of these we are well assured there was a Fortification long before his Time.

The new *Camden*, from a Manuscript of Mr. *Aubrey* saith, " A Mile North of *Cambridge* is
" *Arbury*, or *Arbrough* (in the Territories of
" *Chesterton*, where is a large Camp of a Figure
" inclining to a Square. There have been *Roman*
" Coins found in it, one particularly of Silver,
" with the Head of *Rome* on one Side, on the
" Reverse *Castor* and *Pollux* on Horseback. The
" adjoining

“ adjoining *Chesterton* has probably its Name from
 “ this Camp or old *Castrum*. ”

Dr. Gale saith, “ *Ipse in campis de Chesterton*
 “ (*in cujus Oppidi territorii stat Castrum Canta-*
 “ *brigienſe*) *vidi unum (nummulum) erutum,*
 “ *cui prima facies erat Romæ caput altera Caſtor*
 “ *& Pollux uno equo inſidentes.* ”

Mr. *Aubrey* ſeems to have follow'd the Dean,
 but turn'd his *Caſtle* into a Camp near *Chesterton*.
 It was this Gentleman's Misfortune to take Things
 upon Truſt; but miſtaking Things upon Truſt is
 greater.

By the Name of *Arbury* he muſt have read
 ſomewhere, that there is in *Hertfordſhire*, a Mile
 above *Aſhwell* (the River Head that comes to
Cambridge) an enclosed piece of Ground call'd
Arbury Banks, defended by a *Vallum* without any
Foſſe, which ſeems to have been made for ſome
 publick Shew. How antient this is I pretend not
 to ſay. *Camden* upon ſecond Thoughts took it to
 be *Roman*, becauſe of Coins ſometimes found there;
 for it is conſtantly plough'd, but repents of having
 call'd it *Magioninium*.

Three Miles Southward upon the Military Way
 from *Chesterton* we aſcend *Hogmagog Hill*, where is a
 Camp treble Ditch'd, which I humbly propoſe to
 be the *Camboritum* of the *Romans*. *Camboritum* is
 by *Camden* plac'd at *Grancbeſter*; not ſurely from
 Remains, or Convenience of Situation, but meerly
 for the Name of the River *Cam*, a Point in Diſ-
 pute. He believes *Cambridge* either a Limb, or
 the Daughter of the antient *Camboritum Gran-*
cheſter.

Dr. *Gale* would have this Station ſought for on
 the Banks of the *Cam*. He is not poſitive where-
 about, but mentions Coins found near the Bridge
 at *Cambridge* and at *Chesterton*. The ſame Author
 believes the Camp on *Hogmagog Hill* to be *Roman*,
 and

and us'd as *Æstiva*, though not by the Name of *Camboritum*; and had himself seen Roman Money that was dug out there, in making a Cellar, of *Valentinian the Elder* and *Valens*.

Dr. *Braddy* in his *History of England*, acknowledges both the Camp on *Hogmagog*, and the other Fortification at *Chesterford*, on which the Crown Inn stands, to be *Roman*, though he attempts not to fix their Names; and that at *Littlebury* near the River are also Remains.

Mr. *Baxter* will have *Camboritum* and *Cambretonium* the same, in which he is singular, and gives no better Evidence for his Opinion, than that both signify a Situation on the Turn of a River. They are made very different in the Itinerary, and it is beyond Excuse to call them the same. *Camboritum* in the fifth Journey is plac'd between *Iciani* and *Durolipons*; *Cambretonium* in the Ninth, is between *Sitomagus* and *Ad Ansam*.

Dr. *Stukeley* makes *Chesterford* *Camboritum*, and there would be enough to say upon that Point if Distance to *Durolipons* would admit it; and if the Station were certainly nam'd from the River, and the old Name of the River were certainly *Cam*. This Place without all Question was *Roman*, as a Part of *Littlebury* was. The Wall of *Chesterford* including fifty Acres, according to the Doctor, is now digging down to mend the Highways. Coins of the lower Emperors are frequently found here. This Place is call'd *Boroughfield* by the Inhabitants. The Doctor hath trac'd out a Building in it which he believes to have been a Temple. From the languid Corn which grows over the Walls he discovers the Dimensions of it. The *Naos* is fifteen Foot over, and forty long; the *Pronaos* appears at both Ends the Wall of the Portico, around whereon stood the Pillars. He found the City to be in

Breadth

Breadth a thousand *Roman* Feet; and that the Breadth to the Length was as three to five, in the Proportion their Bricks are made; and farther, that the River *Cam* runs under the Wall. Thence he concludes it is nam'd, and instances in a Butchers Utenfil, which from its Crookedness is call'd *Cambril*.

If *Cam* doth in *British* signify Crooked, it is a great way to trace up a Genealogy through *Norman* and *Saxon* Times, for a Thing that hath pass'd, perhaps, through two or three Denominations since the *Britons* nam'd it. Rivers and Mountains are much more like to carry their first Names, than Things of common Use. Within *Boroughfield* are Coins of the lower Emperors daily plough'd up.

If *Camboritum* be nam'd from *Cam*, and *Cam* from Crookedness, how came we by the rest of our Names beginning with *Cam*, which no-body ascribes to Crookedness, *Cambodunum*, *Cambretonium*, *Camulodunum*?

Hogmagog Camp is upon an Eminence, commanding the whole Country on every Side for many Miles, most judiciously chosen for *Exploratores*; upon the great Road from *Colchester* to *Lincoln*, and within a very few Miles of the Intersection of the *Ermine* and *Ikening* Streets, and within Sight of both. The Distance from *Colchester* agrees with the *Itinerary*, which makes it Thirty-five Miles.

Let it be consider'd, here are already three Pretenders to *Camboritum*, *Granchester*, *Cambridge*, *Chesterford*; and if *Chesterton* may be reckon'd there is a fourth. A fifth hath as good a Claim as any but *Chesterford*, I mean *Trumpington*. Here have been of late many Things dug up which pass for *Roman*; *Pateras* of red Earth, *Lacrymatories*, *Intaglias*, and other Curiosities. Some of these are in the Hands of the Right Honourable the

†

Earl

Earl of *Oxford*. Others of more Value were claim'd by Mr. *Thompson*, Lord of the Manor. Amongst these are said to be large Earthen Vessels us'd for Sacrifice, of which, an Account is to be given in the Philosophical Transactions. I have heard there are some particular Figures upon these Earthen Vessels discovering them to be of *Roman* use in Sacrifice. It will be hard to distinguish whether they were not of *British* use after the *Romans* abdicated. If they were, we may call them *Roman*, as being in Imitation of their Worship. These Things, upon the Death of Mr. *Thompson*, or a Design to oblige the Royal Society, are not easily come at. I wish the Adept, may from the Royal Society receive that Satisfaction they wish.

The whole, I think, that can be made of all these Pretensions is, that from the Summer Protection of *Camboritum* and *Canonium*, the *Romans* or their *British* Allies, and by Marriage, Kinsmen, thought proper to have their *Villas*, and make Country Settlements in this Neighbourhood. The Troops that kept the Post of *Exploratores* might also quarter amongst them in Winter; because, under their Guard, the People were most secure, and the Inroads of Pirates or Beaters-up of Quarters were most dreaded in the Summer.

To say but one Thing more of this *Cam*, which determines the World to fix *Camboritum* upon the River: I propose one Guess in which I am not very sanguine, but leave it to take its Chance. These Stations beginning with *Cam*, may have been originally *Campo*, and, abbreviated, might drop the second Syllable. Thus *Cambretonio* might have been *Campo Bretonio*, or the Field upon the River *Breton*. *Camborito* might have been *Campo Rito*, with the Variation but of one Letter. The Adept
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in *British*, may, perhaps, find the Meaning of the two last Syllables.

Camuloduno might have the same Origin, preserving a Difference from any other Place of kindred Sound, to avoid Confusion. *Ravennas* has another beginning with *Cam*, which is *Camuloseffa*. As to *Cambodunum*, the Station intermediate to *Calcaria* and *Manucio*, in the second Journey *Bede* mentions a Place written *Campodunum*. This may give some little Light, but too much Stress ought not to be laid on the Exactness of a *Saxon* Transcriber against a *Roman* Copy.

Camulodunum is the next *Cambridgeshire* Station I propose. And this may be done without so much Hardiness as at first Sight appears. *Castle Comps* is the Place, I humbly presume, of its self ignoble, any farther than *Norman* Honour has made it, nor of Extent enough to be thought a Colony. So that the Charge would be to bring a Situation *ex face Romuli*, and to exalt it to the highest *Roman* Honour.

First let the adversary Opinions appear, making it *Malden*, *Colchester*, *Walden*. The first took its Title from Similitude of Sound, and from that only, as was observ'd upon *Essex* in our Second Part. The second had the great *Stillingfleet* and *Talbot* to support it; but all they have is to prove it *Roman*, which No-body can deny. The third hath its chief Evidence from Sound, and that *Roman* Remains are in the Neighbourhood. To all which let this be added, that not one of the three Schemes pretends to keep *Antonine's* Numbers sacred, or indeed, to treat them with any Respect.

Having said enough already upon this Place, I only shew here the Way of coming at it, and the just Distance in which it stands from *Canonium Ring Hill*, and *Ad An'am Tallow Wrattin*, from the first Nine Miles, from the other Six, in a Line as direct

direct as the Ground will bear from *London* to *Tarmouth*.

I am aware that *Ptolomy* has plac'd *Καμολόδουνον* in the District of the *Trinobantes*, whereas here 'tis brought under the *Iceni*. It is no otherwise brought under the *Iceni*, than that it is in *Cambridgeshire*. But it by no means appears that the *Saxon* Division agreed intirely with the *Roman*. This *Lingula* of *Cambridgeshire* jutting into *Essex*, probably happen'd long after *Potolomy's* Time. And if the Place lies but upon the Border, and such a Border too as seems to have been an Encroachment upon *Essex*, one need not be concern'd at such a Difficulty.

Our Road to *Castle Comps* from *Ring Hill Canonium*, is through the Ground upon which *Audley Inn* now stands; through the Park by *Magnaville's Castle*, to *St. Aylot's*, a Farm belonging to the Earls of *Suffolk*. There the broad military Way is lost, which points to *Castle Comps*. *Hales Wood* stops it up; and the Fields beyond the Wood, through which it seems antiently to have gone, shew no more Traces of a Road till we come to the Place. Thence again our *Ermine*, as we take the Liberty to call it, moves towards *Haveril*; and two Miles before it arrives there, falls into the *Ikening* from *Linton*, and keeps it company to *Haveril*, parting there in a *Saltire*, as hath been said in the former Part upon *Essex*.

We are now to account for the Smallness of the Garrison, and its Pretence to claim the Honour of a *Roman Colony*, against *Colchester*, or any other considerable Place; an Honour which *London* at that Time did not enjoy, as appears from what is related of *Suetonius Paulinus*. *Tacitus* makes *Camulodunum* a Place without Forts and Castles, and accuses the Officers of consulting Ease and Plenty above Security. Here seems to have been
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the *Prætorium* and the Temple of *Claudius* near it, but the *Veterans* had dispers'd themselves about the Country, enjoying the Fruits of Husbandry, without imagining their Tenure so precarious as it was. They might probably have some Fortifications on the Verge of their Colony, but these so weak, or so weakly guarded, that *Boadicea* made no Difficulty of surprizing them. The above-mention'd Author saith as much: *Fœmina duce exurere Coloniam, expugnare Castra potuere. Et sumpsere universi bellum, & sparsos per Castella milites consecrati expugnatis præsidiis ipsam Coloniam invasere.* These *Castella* might be as far off as *Chesterford* on one Side, as *Heveningham* on the other, or as *Haverill*. At this last mentioned Place are Coins now found in abundance. And there is a Sort of Proof the Colony was continued hither, if we will depend upon the Exactness of the *Itinerary*: And that a Part, if not the chief Part of the Colony, was three Miles farther from *London* than *Castle-Comps* extended from thence. This appears from the different Number of Miles the fifth Journey gives from the Ninth. In the fifth from *Cæsaromagus* to *Colonia*, we find Twenty-four Miles. In the ninth we find from *Cæsaromagus* to *Canonium* twelve, and nine more to *Camulodunum*; in the whole Twenty-one.

The Ground we see at present is not more than six or seven Acres fortified; and the Works seem to be *Norman*, whatever there might have been in elder Times. This, however, may have been the Residence of *Cynobiline*. His *Prætorium*, or something equivalent to it, might be within this Compass, and the exterior Defence of his *Oppidum* at a greater Distance. This Defence consisting of Ditches and Trees without, might be totally defaced by *Roman* Industry upon Improvement of the Lands. There is not at present any Traces

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of

of such Works. *Aulus Plautius* and *Claudius* in Person are said to have been here ; and here was a Temple built to the Honour of that Emperor, and according to *Tacitus* an Altar inscrib'd, *The Altar of eternal Dominion*. Here the conquer'd Britons ador'd him as a God.

This may give some Light to the Inscription *Camden* mentions, *Camulo Deo sancto & fortissimo*. He labours from this and an old Stone found at Rome in the Palace of *Colloti*, to prove *Camulus* another Name for *Mars*, by which he was worshipp'd. As *Claudius* was deified and had a Temple here ; and was, according to *Seneca's* Relation, worshipp'd by these Barbarians, this Temple, and this Adoration might be at *Camulodunum*. Thus *Camulo* may stand for *Camuloduni* according to the Roman Practice of cutting Words short. *Claudius* may be the *Deus sanctus & fortissimus*, whose Altar was at this Place. The *Camu* which is on some Coins attributed to *Cynobelin*, is still a shorter way of writing the Place than *Camulo*. It is more probable these very Coins were Roman, in Memory of Victory over *Cynobelin*. *Cæsar* expressly denies the Britons had any Coins ; and these, though something later, have no great Evidence of their Side.

Camulodunum, where-ever it stood, was the Quarters of the Veterans of the fourteenth Legion, the *Gemina Martia Victrix*, call'd by *Tacitus* the Conquerors of Britain : The same that in the Inscription of *Cnæus Munatius*, corrected by the Dean of York, is said to be, *Colonia Victricensis quæ est in Britannia Camuloduni*. The History of *Claudius* saith, he actually came to Britain and reinforc'd *Aulus Plautius*, that he defeated the Britons who disputed his Passage over the *Thames* ; that he took *Camulodunum*, upon which his Son was stiled *Britannicus* ; and that the Priests who officiated

officiated in the Temple built to his Honour, were call'd *Sodales Augustales*.

The Ermine-Street from London to the Sea.

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|---------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Londinium</i> | <i>London</i> |
| <i>Durolitum</i> | <i>Cheshunt</i> |
| <i>Cæsaromagus</i> | <i>Braughing</i> |
| <i>Canonium</i> | <i>Ring Hill</i> |
| <i>Camulodunum</i> | <i>Castle Comps</i> |
| <i>Ad Ansam</i> | <i>Tallow Wrattling</i> |
| <i>Combretonium</i> | <i>Icklingham</i> |
| <i>Sitomagus</i> | <i>New Bokenham</i> |
| <i>Gariononum</i> | <i>Tarmouth.</i> |





A NEW
SURVEY
OF
ENGLAND.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE,



N. the *Roman* Division of the Island is reckon'd in the District of the *Iceni*. It is hard to prove the Whole of it to be there ; but since no Authors have taken pains to fix the Skirts of it under any other Division, and if they did, there would be little more than Opinion to countenance them, I shall not attempt it.

By the *Saxons* this County was call'd *Huntundunescire*, and *Huntandunescire*, in which there is no Difference but of *Hunter* or *Hunting*. The whole County was lately Forest, and long after Princely Promises had pass'd for Disafforesting it, of which I have particularly treated in the Second Part of this Work, upon the Forests of *Essex*.

Its

Its Boundaries are on the West and part of the North, *Northamptonshire*; on the other Part of the North, the Isle of *Ely*; and on the East, *Cambridgeshire*; on the South, *Bedfordshire*. As to Civil Jurisdiction, it is under the same High Sheriff as *Cambridgeshire*: One Year the Sheriff is of this County, a second of *Cambridgeshire*, a third out of that Part of *Cambridgeshire*, call'd the Isle of *Ely*. The same Method was for the same Person to be Sheriff of *Essex* and *Hertfordshire*, till the Ninth of Queen *Elizabeth*; but not alternately, for sometimes Two or Three Gentlemen of the same County served after one another.

It is watered by the River *Ouse* from *Bedfordshire*, which parts the South-east Corner of this County from the rest. The River *Nen* divides it on the North from *Northamptonshire*, in its Course to *Peterborough*.

Roman Monuments in this County we must not look for. The Reason may be, That it was entirely Forest. Here was no Country for an Army to protect, because they could not live upon it. Here was neither Corn rais'd, nor Meadows drain'd for Grazing. And though a great Part of the Land is naturally fruitful, it wanted human Industry to fit it for the Plough and the Scythe. In the *Britons* Time, the Nation was but half Peopled. They had Ground enough manured, to feed them in that low Way Nature requir'd, the rest was therefore neglected. They had no Vent for their Corn abroad, nor Inducement to cultivate as much as would have made their Lives more comfortable: But contented themselves with the indolent Life of Shepherds; sat lazily down to procure Milk and Cheese, with a Genius little exalted above the Cattle that fed them. They had, like their Land, an innate Fruitfulness, and

when their Spirit was awak'd, and called up by Dangers, they shew'd themselves Men to the Cost of the *Romans*. Had the Land been clear of Woods, it would have maintain'd twice the Number of Inhabitants, and might, consequently, have defended itself against double the Force that attack'd them. The Riches of their Lands, and of their Minds, was then but in Ore, as a Mine not uncovered. It was the Experience and the Policy of War, that was the *Roman* Advantage over them. Had *Caractacus*, and the other *British* Captives, been able to make their own Speeches, which *Roman* Oratory puts in their Mouths, in all probability, they had kept their Ground, and not grac'd a *Roman* Triumph. The Poets Encomium upon *Cæsar's* Victories, had been spar'd, in which the Translation of *Virgil* in *Camden*, has humbled *Virgil*, as much as *Cæsar* had humbled *Britain*.

Utque
Purpurea intexti tollant aulæa Britanni. Virg.

“ And how the Tapestry where themselves are
 “ wrought,
 “ The *British* Slaves pull down——

Cou'd the *British* Captives rob the *Roman* Theatre? Will not *tollere* mean, that the *British* Captives were in the Tapestry describ'd holding up a Representation of their Country's Disgrace?

This County retains yet the Air of Forest, more than any other in *England*. There is from *Kimbolton* to *Warbois*, one Range of Woods with Breaks and Discontinuations only. About the middle Way, is a Wood yet retaining the Name of *Waybridge*, which gave Name to one of the Three Forests of *Huntingdonshire*.

All that appears to have been Roman in this County, is the Military Way through it. One from *Camboritum*, as I take leave to call *Hogmagog*, passes the *Cambridge River* at *Chesterton*, and points to *Stanton*. It leads by *Lowlworth Hedges*, which I have not Hardiness enough to call the Work of *Lollius Urbicus*, for which I might have Countenance from Men of the first Figure. Doctor Gale, speaking, pag. 28. of his Comment on *Antonine*, saith, *Sane locus iste quem modo diximus dicebatur antiquitus Lolefworth, i. e. Lollii Curia vel Ager; Et forte fuit Lollius Urbicus ille Antonini Pii legatus qui viam publicam muniverit vel aliud opus in proximo condiderit, Certe nomen Lollii aliis locis Et ad viam militarem inhæerere animadverto.*

Lolham Briggs, mention'd by *Camden* in the Way from the *Nen* to *Bourn* in *Lincolnshire*, may have the same Original.

The Military Way from *Chesterton* by *Lowlworth*, passes through *Stanton*, where it seems to have given Name. Thence it points to *Hartford* on the North Side the *Ouse*. Here, I presume, was the Ford of the *Ouse* from *Heminford*, leaving *Godmanchester* and *Huntingdon* on the Left. The River hereabouts running in Three Channels, was shallower than in one. But the Passage may have been where the Three are united, before the Water was kept up by Locks and Sluices for the Benefit of Navigation. There is yet a Ford a little higher at *Offord*, another a little lower below *St. Ives Bridge*. From *Hartford* we go directly North, and at *Stukely* the present Post Road falls in with ours; leads on by *Stangate Holt*, where again it gives Name, through *Stilton* to *Chesterton*, on the South Side the *Nen*, the *Durolipons*, as I conceive, of the *Romans*.

Here we have on our Side, the fortified Camp, consisting of about Twenty-four Acres, the Ditch

still remaining. It consists of a small Field, a large one, and half another large one, called *Castle Fields*.

The Entrance from the Road is by an *Agger*, which leads to the Camp, and keeps its Height quite thro' to the North Side of it, lying very near the *Nen*. From hence the Military Way crossed the River into *Northamptonshire*, and led by *Castor*, a Village a Mile farther on the Side of the Hill. This is admitted by all, and though the *Vestigia* of the Road are not to be traced up to *Castor*, or immediately from it; the next we find of it towards *Lolbam Briggs*, answers exactly to *Castor* and *Chesterton*.

We have here also, our just Complement of Miles from *Camboritum Hogmagog*, as the *Itinerary* directs, Fourteen to *Hartford*, and Eleven to *Chesterton*.

By the Way, it might be worth the Pains of the Experiment, to dig across the Road about *Stangate Holt*, at the Depth of Two or Three Yards for the *Roman* Materials, if ever there was a Causeway made of Stone by them. And these might Repair the present Turnpike Road, if they could be discovered. It was the Custom of the *Romans* to make some Causeways of Stone, and others only of the neighbouring Earth. But considering the Badness of the Ground here, one might, with as good Reason, expect to find the Materials buried deep as any where. In *Sussex* and *Surrey*, for many Miles together, the stony *Agger* is found Two Yards under Ground, when Drains are occasionally dug, and particularly in *Darking Churchyard* when Graves are made. The Labourers here take out Stones daily at a Yard deep; but these are only what the Parish Surveyors have, from Year to Year, laid down.

This Station is, by almost all Authors, fix'd at *Castor* in *Northamptonshire*, which was call'd by the Monks *Dormanceaster*. But supposing *Godmanchester* to have been *Durolipons*, how does this answer *Durobrivæ*, which should be Thirty-five Miles from thence? Mr. *Camden* supposes a Continuation of the Town, from the *Huntingdonshire* Side the *Nen*, quite to *Castor*, though there is no Pretence of Communication. The Town of *Castor* stands upon the Side of a Hill, a Mile in *Northamptonshire*. This is an entire Camp in *Huntingdonshire*, and the Ground between, consists either of Meadows, or low Arable Lands, which were never taken into the Town.

Dr. *Stukeley* hath taken Notice of this fortified Ground, called *Castle Fields*, and the *Dorman* Pieces frequently plough'd up in the Field between the River and *Castor*. These are also found in *Chesterton* Castle Field, and called also by the People *Dormans*. Dr. *Parker* of *Peterborough* hath a great many of them.

Castor may have been the Residence of some Romans, because it lay upon the Street, which may be elsewhere observed; but *Chesterton*, by the Fortification, must have been the Station.

The tessellated Pavements shew'd there, were dug out of the Church-yard, and were probably the Ornament of Roman Baths. The Pieces which compose the Out-side of the Wall, are not Cubes; but the Division is made with a Knife drawn across, as upon Childrens Bread and Butter, and the imperfect Squares are colour'd afterwards. They could not have been put so close together else, being of that irregular Form.

The next Work is to remove *Durolipons* from *Godmanchester*, where it hath acquir'd a Settlement. My first Evidence is the *Itinerary*, which is broke through and rejected, for the sake of fixing

fixing *Durolipons* there. Let *Camboritum* be Cambridge, *Granchester*, *Trumpington*, none of 'em will answer Twenty-five Miles from *Godmanchester*. Let it be *Chesterford*, and we shall want Six of our Number.

But that I may not seem to attack the whole Body of Antiquaries, let me take them single, and it will appear, some only follow their Leaders, because they would not be particular; and others, because they will not be at the Pains of examining. Mr. Camden's determining Evidence here, is Etymology. He would have *Duroliponte* changed to *Durosiponte*, and there we have the Bridge upon the *Ouse*. There never was a Bridge here but at *Huntingdon*.

Dr. Gale wonders at Camden, for finding the Distance here according to the *Itinerary*. His Etymology of *Ousæ trajetus* had so delighted him, that he was loth to see any Objection. This Etymology, the Doctor admits well hit upon; but would have the Passage of the *Ouse* not here, but at *Offord*. I repeat his Words: *Apellebatur olim Gormancester. Paulo supra oppidum hoc fons est ad Lepram purgandam efficacissimus. Medicis Lepra est Elephas. Majores nostri Oliphant pronunciarunt morbumque illum per Gormes expresserunt. Hæc faciunt ut scribam hic Duroliphante. Quemadmodum vero urbs illa alia Akemancester ab iis nominabatur qui illuc ad dolores quibus laborabant tollendos confluxerunt; ita & hanc urbem Gormancester ab Elephantiacis dixerunt.*

Dr. Stukeley, in pag. 76 of his *Iter Curiosum*, saith, " At *Godmanchester* or *Gormancester*, on
 " this Side *Huntingdon* River, the Name of *Chester*
 " ascertains the *Roman Castrum* to have been;
 " nor is there any dispute of it, however Criticks
 " vary about its Name, whether *Durosiponte* or
 " *Durocinonte*; whether there was a Bridge, a
 " Ferry

“ Ferry, or a Ford in most antient Times. No
 “ doubt but the *Romans* inhabited both Sides of
 “ the River, and probably rather at *Huntingdon*,
 “ being a much better Situation.”

The Doctor is willing to let *Huntingdon*, as the better Situation, come in for half the Honour, if not more than half. And if he gives *Huntingdon* half, where shall be the other half; for there is Ground between *Huntingdon* and *Godmanchester*, which takes up half a Mile, consisting only of low, watry Meadows, over which is a Passage made with Difficulty, by means of Four or Five Bridges; so that *Godmanchester*, in this Situation of Affairs, must be given up. The Doctor goes on; “ Therefore as to Antiquities here found, I
 “ hold myself more excusable, if at present I
 “ have nothing to say.”

Mr. Baxter, upon *Durocinonte*, saith thus, *Antonini libris turpi vitio scribitur Duroliponte, & Ravennati etiam Monacho corrupte Durcinate vel forsan Durcinante. Oppidum hoc est Saxonibus ibridâ voce Huntandum appellatum; cum si plene scriberetur deberit esse Durocinontedun. Siquidem ipsum vetus Durocindum possit esse Garmonceaster de Germanis incolis ita appellatum. Durocinonte autem quod Girviis Britannis cesserat Huntedun, sive magis Ontedun. Idem enim Hunt vel Onte (quod & Britannis Ante, Unte & Hunt) quod Saxonibus Geord est, Anglisque Tond sive ultra & ulterior. Sit igitur Durocindum nostrum Gormanchester, & Durocinonte Huntendun sive Huntington.*

I have produc'd this Quotation, because I would not conceal any thing that might be of Service to Truth, nor any thing that another Man might make more of than I can myself. *Hunt* is a Saxon Word for *Hunting*, and need not be fetch'd from the *British*. I don't find from
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this last-mentioned Author, any new Strength to the old Opinion, that *Godmanchester* is *Durolipons*.

That it is not so, let this Evidence be heard, besides the Disagreement with the *Itinerary*; that the Situation will by no means admit it. It lies low, even with the Water, whereas an Eminence in the Parish might have been found, if it had been look'd for, near *Beggars Bush*; but then we should have been too far from the Water.

The Bulk of this Town consists of Farmers, whose Rural Pomp hath been thought worthy the Sight of a King; they occupy Lands at some Miles Distance from the Town, as is the Practice of this Country. Where the Water is, there is the Residence of the Husbandman, who hath none but running Water to trust to in a dry Summer: And they chuse rather to bring their Corn in Harvest to the Water-side, than to carry Water up the Hill for the Occasions they would have.

The next Thing to be offer'd, is, that some Places were by the *Saxons* called *Ceafters*, which were never *Roman*, as already hath been hinted. If there be any Fortifications remaining, they may have been *Roman*, though they don't come into the *Itinerary*. But it's possible an Army may have encamp'd with the River in Front or Rear, which hath been thought sufficient for a present Defence. *Camden*, both old and new, ought to give up *Godmanchester*; for they believe an old Story of *Gorman* the *Dane*, who encamped here in the Time of *Alfred*.

Gormanis a Castris nomine nomen habet.

The Town from *Gormond's* Castle took its Name.

Huntingdon hath been a Place considerable, both before the *Norman* Conquest, and since. It extended itself towards *Hartford*, and was, perhaps,

haps, contiguous, and more inhabited as it lay upon the *Roman Agger*, of special Use to the *Saxons* and *Danes* both. These Military Ways were, indeed, the Destruction of the *Britons* after the *Romans* went off, and of the *Saxons* when the *Danes* made their Inroads. Here was a Way pay'd to Plunder, and the Towns where the Wealth was, generally stood upon them.

I have not Room here to enter into the Natural History of this County, where, next to *Lancashire*, Witchcraft has had its Empire. So much have our Grandfathers stood in Awe of it, from Practices at *Warbois*, for which the Accused suffered Death at *Huntingdon*. There is Yearly a Sermon preach'd at *Huntingdon* on that Subject by a Fellow of *Queen's* in *Cambridge*.

This County ought not to be pass'd through without an honourable Mention of Sir *Robert Cotton* of *Conington*, at whose Desire and Expence we have a great Part of that Collection of Antiquities Mr. *Camden* made. Happy should I think myself to attend in the meanest Capacity, such an Embassy to the Dead, as consisted of Sir *Robert*, Mr. *Camden*, and *Ben Johnson*. The First paid the Reckoning; the Second join'd his Labour and Knowledge with that of Sir *Robert*, to make useful and pleasant Discoveries; the Third made the Evening chearful, by intermixing the Gay with the Serious.

The new *Camden* hath quoted him from *Speed*, for a Reason this County affords no old Families. He admits Luxury the Occasion of Estates being spent near *London*, and purchas'd by Merchants from thence. But that, he says, won't hold at such a Distance, and therefore solves it thus, "That
 " most of the County being Abbey Land, upon
 " the Dissolution many new Purchasers planted
 " themselves herein, and, perhaps, their new
 " Possessions might have the same Fate here, that
 " Church

“ Church Revenues have had in other Places, were
 “ they fell into Lay Hands.”

It's pity Sir Robert's Thoughts upon this Subject are not more at large. There might have been a Parallel made between him and the *Norfolk Knight*. The Arguments and Observations would have made a beautiful Comparison; neither of them, we may be confident, spoke what he did not think; but as Prejudice with regard to Good or Evil may determine a single Breast, in the Multitude of Counsellors the Right might best appear.

A Man may, by Interest and Custom, be hardened in maintaining a Possession he ought to quit: On the other Hand, in Remembrance of some Unhappiness or Disaster, may be terrified out of the Possession of that he may fairly keep.

Success is not a constant Determiner of Good and Ill. All that ill Success, in any Undertaking, hath to do, is to put us upon Inquiry whether our Undertaking is justifiable or not.

To the Law then, and to the Testimony, it will be said. But where is this *Law* and this *Testimony*? What Body of Men is clear from the Charge?

Iliacos intra muros peccatur & extra.

If Sir Henry Spelman's Observations in his Book *De non temerandis Ecclesiis*, ought to have any Weight, the Well-being of Mankind is highly concern'd to bring up Truth, cost what it will. He expresses the Unhappiness of such Tenures, by a new Piece put into an old Garment, which tears the old out. And to excuse the interested Part of the World for not thinking as he does, confesses the ill Success he met with in this Sort of Possessions, first convinc'd him there was a *Snare* belonging to them.

Lands liable to Inundations, Houses to Fire, and Countries to Earthquakes, are of less Value than such as are more securely enjoy'd.

If

If there be nothing that ought to affect Posterity occupying Things once devoted, why should we fear an Inquisition into the Truth? Why should we not examine whether the Property of Things consecrated can be alter'd? If upon just Inquiry we can have it determin'd they may, we may take Founders Curses for *Brutum Fulmen*, and the disastrous Fate of consecrated Places, for a common Calamity.

This would be the surest Method to sleep quietly within those Walls, where none, till Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, ventur'd to dwell. The first Inhabitants of these Places, after the Dissolution, were the Poor, who took up with them in a general Plague.

The Cause is not like to be heard or decided, and, therefore, I shall leave it where I found it, remarking only, that those who have none of these new Pieces in their Estates, rejoice that they have not; and those that have, call them as good as any other.

In the Military Way from *Camboritum* to *Hartford*, we observe a remarkable *Tumulus* or *Barow*, between *Stanton* and *Hemingford*, just where the Road from *St. Ives* towards *London* crosses; the Name of it is *Gally Hill*.

It hath been much disputed what these Barows were made for, and who were the Makers of them. If either of these could be determin'd, we should not be far off the Truth. The Design might discover the Authors, or the Authors the Design. Perhaps they were neither all erected by the same People, nor all with the same Intention; and this makes Room for guessing.

The Nations to whom they are generally attributed, are the *British* and the *Roman*; and with as much Probability we may add the *Danish*. History is silent as to the particular Time of their Erection; and therefore, the dernier Resort is to
the

the Custom of the Age and People they are ascrib'd to.

Upon digging down many of them, have been found Bones and Wood both burnt to Charcoal. Under others the Bones of one Man lying flat upon the Earth under the *Tumulus*. Under others nothing has been found.

Some are of different Form from others, having a *Fosse* round about them, antiently we may suppose deep; whereas the rest seem to be a *Congeries* of Earth piled up upon the plain Surface.

Again, some are upon an Eminence, others upon the Declension of a Hill, some upon a Plain, and some in the Highway.

They differ also in Number. They are most frequently single; sometimes two at a small Distance, and sometimes three; but the latter more rarely; and sometimes a greater Number. They generally stand in a Line, but are seen in some Places in a triangular Form; sometimes in a Square, and frequently they are set in no Order.

They are by every Body allow'd to be a Memorial of something. Those that attribute these Monuments to the *Romans*, have History on their Side vouching the Practice. *Tacitus*, lib. i. cap. 62. *Annal.* saith, the Soldiers carried every one a Turf to cover those slain in Battle; and that *Germanicus*, with his own Hand, began the Work. *Pliny* in the 7th Book of his Natural History tells us, Burning was not the antient Method of that Nation, but Burial, till the Time of *Sylla* the Dictator. *Caius Marius* his Body was dug up, mangled, and expos'd with the rest of the Slain, by a Sort of brutal Revenge; to prevent which, in After-times they reduc'd them to Ashes.

The *Romans* took this Fashion from the *Greeks*, as *Homer* and *Virgil* witness. And the *Greeks* had it from the *Ægyptian* Use of Pyramids.

But

But we shall not be willing to call all these *Roman* Remains, if we consider that they had altered their Fashion of burying, for the other of burning, before their Settlement in *Britain*; and if so, where we find the Bones of a Man unburnt, we must ascribe it to some other People, except where the Urn and Cinders are. Then there is not found in any of their Authors relating their Wars with the *Britons*, any Account of this Usage. And farther, some of these *Tumuli* are cut thro' by the Military Ways, to preserve their Line, which would have been avoided if they had not been *British* Monuments that stood there before. So that except those that have the Remains of Burning under them, and these are generally small, we must look for the Founders elsewhere.

That many of these are *Danish* Work, 'tis highly probable, because where History mentions their Descent upon the Island, and their Ravages, these Barrows are seen in great Plenty, as in the Plains of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, *Hertfordshire*. They are also upon the Western Coast and Plains in as great abundance.

The *Danes* seem to have had two Intentions in raising their Piles of Earth; one in Honour of a General or considerable Man fallen in Battle; another for Victory and Terror, to intimidate their Enemy by the Trophies of their Progress. *Olaus Wormius* in his Account of the *Danish* Monuments page 40, tells us, it was the Practice of the Northern Nations to burn the Body, and cover the Ashes with a large *Tumulus*. Of these he gives us different Forms, some long, others round. The long he saith were made in Imitation of a Ship, the Commander of which, perhaps, was honour'd. Of this Sort are many to be seen in *England*, though the Occasion of most of them be out of Memory. In a Bottom in *Bedfordshire* below *Luton* Downs, near the Intersection, as I apprehend, of the *Watling* and *Ikening* Streets, are some of the long kind.

These are very near the Spot, if not upon it, where the *Danes* were defeated by *Edward the Elder*: *In finibus Luitoniæ & Provinciæ Hertfordensis*, saith *Mathew Florilegus*. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, under the Year 911 saith, That *Edward*, after building the Castle of *Hertford*, and the Town of *Witham*, recovered those Parts from the *Danes*, who, the Year after, made great Slaughter of the *Saxons* at *Hocksnorton* in *Oxfordshire*. *Et postquam redierunt domum statim venit alia caterva (Danorum) & iuit ad Ligetune (Luton)*. *Gens autem Patriæ illius eos comperiens pugnarit cum iis & eos fugavit, & totam prædam quam ceperant eis abstulit & etiam equos eorum.*

'Tis hard to say whether the Works at *Thetford* in *Norfolk* are of this kind, or to fortify the Castle; they may have been design'd for both. According to this Account we may admit the *Danes* to have erected many of the Barows we see dispersed about the Country.

We have the Custom asserted by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, of their being made in Remembrance of Victory only. That *Harold* threw up Hillocks of Stones with an Inscription, *Hic fuit Victor Haraldus*. And if there was no Inscription, the Memory of the Action would be a great while preserv'd, even by these Heaps of Stones or Earth; perhaps longer than by an expensive Edifice, the Materials of which might have tempted succeeding Ages to raze it.

Yet the *Britons*, or antient *Celts*, must come in for their Share of these Monuments, and, perhaps, were Founders of the greatest Part of them. Those that are ditch'd about have been allow'd *Celtic*, but the Reason of that Defence I do not find given. It seems to have been to keep off a Crowd, that whatever was doing upon the Hill the Audience might be kept at a proper Distance.

Whether these were us'd for the Sacrifices of the *Druids*, little Light can be had. That they made
Choice

Choice of Groves and shady Places for their Worship, such as were stor'd with Oaks, the very Name of *Druid* discovers, as well as the Authority of the *Roman* Writers. But if we will have any of their Offices of Religion perform'd elsewhere than in these Shades, we must go to elder History.

The first Account we have of the Sacrifices of the *Pagans* is in the Scriptures. They chose *High Places* for their Worship, and either found, or planted Groves upon them for that purpose. From the elder Times of Paganism we have Reason to believe the *Druids* of *Gaul* and *Britain* form'd their Worship, as those elder *Pagans* did from the Sacrifices appointed to the first Men. There have been no Religious Rites from the Beginning of the World to this Time, but what bear a Resemblance, and seem copied from the first instituted Worship. These, however metamorphos'd and corrupted, shew pregnant Proofs of their Original. Sacrifice itself of useful and harmless Animals, could never have been taught by Nature, nor the minute Circumstances of them, such as offering Salt with them all, deduc'd from Reason, though most strictly attended to ; and this we find in *Homer*, as well as in *Moses*. And as the first *Pagans* copied after the Reveal'd Religion, their Successors also copied from them.

If then, we have so frequent a Mention of the Sacrifices of the Idolatrous Nations upon *High Places*, and of the Destruction of these *High Places* by express Command, we may be confirm'd in the Opinion it was once in Practice. In the History *Moses* gives us of *Balak*, we find him bringing *Balaam* up to the *High Places* of *Baal*, that thence he might see the utmost Parts of the People, and there were the seven Altars built.

This imitates Institution ; if we look at the Place appointed to *Gideon* for the erecting his Altar when he had broken down the Idolatrous one,

we find he is commanded to build it on the Top of a Rock. And in the Relation of *Jeroboam's* Policy, *setting up the Calves, and making Priests of the lowest of the People, that their Heart might not turn again to their Lord Rehoboam*, by attending their antient Place of Worship, it is express'd by *going up to Jerusalem*; as the chief Place of Worship is describ'd always by *Moses*, at which the *Israelites* were to appear three Times a Year; they are said to *go up* to appear there.

The Barrow on *Burcham Common* in *Norfolk*, that is ditch'd round, except twenty Yards on the South-East Side, is unusual. It seems to have been made thus for the more graceful Ascent to it, whatever Use it was put to. There is no room to think the Ditch has been fill'd up at that Part since its first making, for the Ground is so barren no Man would have bestow'd his Pains upon it. The other remarkable one on *Icklingham Sands* in *Suffolk*, is different from all I have seen, a Section having been made from the Top half way to the Bottom; and again, from one Side to the Middle, and the Piece taken off: Or it was made Originally in this Form for some Action, or the exposing something to View.

There are so many Intentions for which these *Tumuli* might be rais'd, and so many Uses they might be put to, that we have no Reason to ascribe all to one Age or People. Some of them might be employ'd for Judgment-Seats amongst the *Britons*, to hear criminal Causes, and determine Right and Wrong. They had no Town-Halls nor Session-Houses, and must, consequently, have all publick Meetings and Business done in the open Air. We find these Barrows generally in the Plains, in the cleanest and driest Soil, where a Concourse of People might assemble in any Season of the Year. When the Island was under different *Reguli*, these *Reguli*, upon some Occasions, met together, and probably
a good

a good Number of their People with them for their Defence. When Laws were to be promulg'd, or War resolv'd upon, these were proper Places to harangue a Multitude. It was according to *Cæsar*, the Custom both of *Gauls* and *Britons*, to assemble the Chiefs of every District, to consult of and provide for their general Welfare. The chief Command in the War against *Cæsar*, he tells us, was conferred upon *Cassibelan* by unanimous Consent. And some Place of Congress must have been for such Consent.

According to the same Historian, we may believe these Eminences used by the *Druids* in their Offices, which did not relate to Sacrifice: For he tells us, they determin'd all Differences as well publick as private. That Controversies of Murther and Injuries were by them determined, the Limits of Mens Possessions settled, and their Quarrels decided. Which, by the way, shews how Mankind have copied after the original Institution deliver'd to the first Men. The *Romans*, as well as these earlier Ages, placed the Civil and Spiritual Authority in the same Hands, by which a Reverence to both was maintain'd, and jarring of the different Interests was prevented. As these Offices went together, the *Druids* might, for ought we know, have the same Places for Judgment as they had for Worship, the latter maintaining a Veneration to the other. Since the Arrival of Christianity in *Britain*, the Assemblies or Councils held, were some, if not all, in the open Air, as appears from the Names some of them go by.

The Difficulty that hath been started from *Cæsar's* Relation of the *Druids*, may be easily solv'd. He writes, That the Profession of the *Druids* was thought to have been first in *Britain*, and thence carried into *Gaul*: And that in his Time, those that desir'd to be thoroughly instructed in their Mysteries, go over to *Britain*. From this Account
some

some have fancied *Gaul* was peopled from hence. Is it more likely the Continent should be peopled from *ultima Thule*, or Islands from the Continent?

This Notion is built upon the superior Knowledge of the *British Druids*. And if their being better learn'd in their Mysteries, or being better skill'd in making a Mystery of their Ignorance, were the Thing that advanced their Reputation in *Gaul*; and sent over Novices from thence for Instruction, it may be thus accounted for: That *Britain*, except the Southern Coasts of it, was inhabited by her *Aborigines*; whereas *Gaul* had admitted of new Owners from Time to Time, as they thrust one another forward from the North, and could gain Footing in the South. *Normandy* is named from a new Set of Inhabitants coming thither; *Norman* and *Northman* being the same.

Cæsar is of Opinion, That the Midland Countries of *Britain* were, at his Time, held by the Descendants of the first Possessors; but that the Land nearest the Continent, was enjoy'd by Colonies of *Belgæ*, *Attrebates* and the like. So that the most settled Inhabitants may be suppos'd to retain more of antient Custom and Fashion, than a People entirely Strangers, or but partly so. For if Strangers were but intermix'd with Natives, they would bring something of their own with them, though in the main they conform'd to the Usages of the Place they came into. If the *Britons* of *Armorica*, by Tract of Time and Conversation with their Neighbours of *Gaul*, should have lost so much of their antient Mysteries, as to want Information about them, whither should they have had recourse, but to *Wales*? Or if the *Saxons* and *Danes* had unpeopled *Wales* and *Cornwall*, as they did attempt, where should the dispers'd *Britons* have found the Adept in the *Druids* Mysteries, but in *Armorica*?

There

There is yet behind, one probable Intention of some *Tumuli*, which I propose but as Conjecture ; it hath some Countenance from the Practice of early Ages ; that a great many of them were erected to cover Malefactors. And thus would they serve as a Warning to future Ages, a lasting Monument of that Justice that pursu'd Offenders. Their standing single so frequently in the Highway, which hath long been the burial Place of Criminals, may be consider'd. And the Bones of one Man being found underneath, increases the Probability. We find the Punishment of some Crimes amongst the *Jews* was being ston'd to Death. The Blasphemer was to be ston'd to Death by all the Congregation. The same was to be the Punishment of the Idolater. And if every Man laid on a Stone, this must make a lasting Memorial of the Thing. In *Joshua's* Account of the stoning of *Achan* for his Sacrilege, he saith, *They raised over him a great Heap of Stones to this Day.* The same is said of the King of *Ai*, that after he was hang'd, he was laid before the Gate of the City, and the People were commanded to raise over him a great *Heap of Stones*, which remain'd at the Time of collecting and publishing this History.

It will be objected, That these Barrows, if they were in Imitation of the antient Fashion of covering Offenders, should have been done with Stones, not with Earth, as ours are. When the Person was brought to his Death by stoning, it kept up the Memorial of his Punishment better, the very Instruments of Death being in Sight of others to deter them. But since other Methods of Execution have been us'd, and these differing according to different Countries, and according to the Difference of the Crime, a Mount of Turf gives the same *Memento* to the Living, to avoid the Crime for which one has suffer'd. And this Mount of Turf is much more likely to continue, than one of Stone :
because

because one of Stones, in a Country where they are hard to be found, would be pull'd down by succeeding Ages for their Use; whereas these being generally in a clean Country, and made with the neighbouring Earth, are seldom worth removing. And we see but few of them dug into, but for Curiosity.

It may be ask'd, If many of our *Tumuli* are for Memorials of Persons executed; how they come to be so thick in some Countries, and so rare in others? As the Island was under different *Reguli*, these might have different Customs. In Fact, we find more unditch'd Barrows in the West Country and in the Counties nearest to the Continent, than elsewhere. This would make one suspect them to have been introduc'd by the second Planters, such as *Belgæ*, and the rest: Or, that the first Planters, after some Time, dropt the Use of them, for these Counties, where they are in greatest Plenty, were certainly first possess'd and cultivated.

Again, it will be said, the Number of them is not sufficient to found a Conjecture upon, that they were for Criminals. If they were so, how long the Practice might be upheld we don't know. And we may presume, if such was the Intention of them, they were erected for the more flagrant Offences of Parricide, Treason, Murder, or Treachery to the Community.

Too much, perhaps, hath been said upon this Subject, since no Certainty is to be arriv'd at. Yet considering these Monuments are daily in our View, and that the only Account of them is Sepulture; and that the Difference of their Form and Situation is not accounted for in a satisfactory Manner, the Digression may be excus'd.

A N E W
S U R V E Y
O F
E N G L A N D.

W H E R E I N

The Defects of CAMDEN are supplied, and the
Errors of his Followers remarked :

The Opinions of our ANTIQUARIES are
compared :

The *Roman* MILITARY WAYS traced ;
And, The STATIONS settled according to the
ITINERARY, without altering the *Figures*.

With some NATURAL HISTORY of each County.

By N. SALMON, LL. B.

P A R T IV.

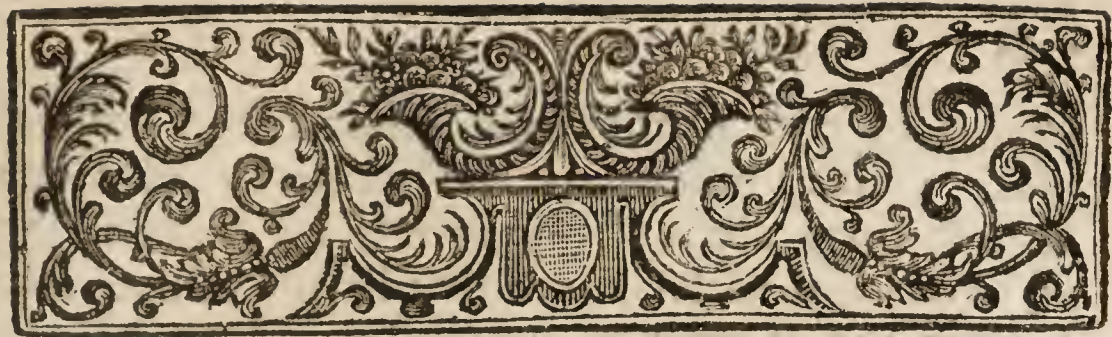
Comprehending LINCOLNSHIRE, NOTTINGHAM-
SHIRE, and RUTLANDSHIRE.

"Ον βεράρεων καλέεσι θεοὶ ἄνδρες ὃ τε πάντες
Ἀισάων. —————

H O M.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. ROBERTS, in *Warwick-Lane*, and J. LEAKE,
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A NEW
SURVEY
OF
ENGLAND.

LINCOLNSHIRE,



AS named by the *Saxons* from the Roman *Lindum*. In the Roman Division of *Britain*, it was a Part of what the *Coritani* possessed. Their District comprehended *Lincolnshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Derbyshire*, *Leicestershire*, *Northamptonshire*, *Rutlandshire*. On one Side they border on the *Iceni*, on the other, on the *Cattieuchlani*.

Mr. *Baxter*, our *British* Oracle, charges *Camden* with imposing the Name *Coritani* from the Translation of *Ptolomy*, which should be *Κοριθαῖοι*. But in this Criticism he rather shews his Inclination to innovate, and his Zeal for the Liberty of altering and emending, than any Reason to make a Man desert *Camden* and follow him. As a Proof we have not the Name *Ptolomy* designed us, he asserts, that what we call *Ratae*, is, in some

Copies of that Author *γράφαι*, when others have it *εγράται*. Here, indeed, is the Evidence of Copy against Copy ; but his *Κορυφαῖνοι* is an Emendation *despotick* and useless, so little edifying to me, that I refer the Reader to his *Glossary* for that Satisfaction I cannot find.

The Two chief Cities of this Division, *Ptolomy* calls *Lindum* and *Ratæ*. From the first of these the County of *Lincoln* is denominated. By the *Saxons* it is called *Provincia Lindicolinenfis*, and sometimes *Lundicolniensis*. The *British* Name from whence the *Romans* latinized it, seems to have been pretty much the same as *London*, tho' Care was taken to distinguish them in the *Latin*. *Florence of Worcester*, on the Year 1052, writes *Ulfus Lundicolniensis Antistes mare transiit*. And this is the Occasion of the Difficulty of accounting for the *English* Bishop, said to be at the Council of *Arles*, whose See was at the *Colonia Londi*.

Mr. *Somner's* Derivation of *London*, from the *British* *Llaun plenus* and *Dyn Homo*, as a populous Place, may serve as well at *Lincoln*. The Inconvenience too of having two several Places of the same Name was nothing, when they were at so great Distance, and under different *Reguli*, who had no Intercourse with one another. Whether *Lindocolina* and *Lind-cyllan-ceaster* be from the Situation, the *Collis* or the *Colonia* of the *Romans* is disputed.

But this is indisputable, that *Lincoln* was a considerable Place in the Time of the *Romans*, and that it is one of those very few that retain in a great measure, their *Roman* Name. Dr. *Gale* is well satisfied in deriving it from *Colonia*, because *Ravennas* hath it plainly *Lindum Colonia*. It is observable the last-named Geographer brings it in between *Venta Cenorum*, or *Icenorum* and *Bano-*
vallum,

vallum, which is a confirming Evidence that *Venta Icenorum* is rightly placed on the Northern Coast of *Norfolk*, whence he carried his Eye across the *Metaris Æstuarium*, and saw *Lindum* and *Banovallum*.

The *Normans*, for the Easiness of Pronunciation, called this County *Nicolshire* ; but that Name did not obtain. Hence, by the Way, we may account for the Want of Etymologies ; such barbarous Alteration of Names having happened upon the Arrival of all new Planters. These could not, or would not, form their Tongue to the old Pronunciation, and therefore reduced the Words they were to pronounce, to their accustom'd Way of speaking.

In Shape, *Lincolnshire* is Oblong, not Oval, but a kind of Section of an Egg, the protuberant Part of which swells out into the Sea from the *Humber* to the *Metaris Æstuarium*. Its North-west Border is the *Trent*, and its Western a great way, till *Nottinghamshire*, for some Miles hath a narrow Slip East of the River, to which *Leicestershire* joins. On the South, *Lincoln* hath the Counties of *Rutland*, *Northampton* and *Cambridge*.

As to the *Roman* military Ways of this County, Authors have pretty well agreed : Not so of the Stations. *Lincoln* is the only one that all have allowed a Station. And though Remains of *Roman* Works are found at some other Places, and allowed as such ; though Camps are seen frequently, especially in the North, I don't find Authors agreeing to settle one City or Camp mention'd by *Antoninus* in this County, besides *Lincoln*. Doctor *Stukely* places one between *Lincoln* and *Newark* at *Brough*, which he calls *Crococolana*.

To begin with the Roads. We came from *Iciani Colchester* to *Hogmagog Camboritum*, Thirty-five Miles, in which we agree punctually with the

Itinerary. From *Hogmagog* we came to *Chesterton* in *Huntingdonshire*. *Durolipons* on the South Bank of the River *Nen*, Twenty-five Miles, as faith the *Itinerary*.

Thence we proceed by a Ford at *Waternewton*, through the Meadows and Fields of *Castor*, in *Northamptonshire*, in which there are some Traces of a Way discovering itself by the languid Corn that grows upon it. It leaves *Castor* something on the Right, and points towards *Upton*, where it is observed to divide. One Branch goes through *Burleigh Park* to *Stamford*, so on to *Grantham*, *Ancaster*, *Lincoln*, *Spital in the Street*, in a strait Course and Ridge to the Northern Borders of the County at the *Humber*.

The learned Author of the Antiquities of *Stamford*, hath traced this Road about *Burleigh* and *Stamford* with the greatest Exactness, which, as others, he calls *Ermine Street*. I should have been glad of his Countenance to find it, as I presume I have done, from *London* to the Coast of *Norfolk*. As he hath not viewed that military Way, and the Remains of the Stations all along upon it, at the prescribed Distance of *Antoninus*, he will excuse my continuing in my former Opinion.

The supposed University of *Bladud* at *Stamford*, he does not require any Man's Assent to, since he calls it only supposed. If I might make free with our Monks that give us the History of it, and allow them as much Credit as possible; I should think they had carried it high enough if they placed it in the Time of those *Britons* the *Romans* left behind them at their going off.

To find even Schools so many Centuries before *Cæsar* came hither, is to find them, I believe, before any Man in *Britain* could read or write. If Learning were amongst any Sort of People, we must imagine it to have been amongst the *Druids*.

And

And that they had only Tradition and Custom for what they did and taught, we may believe from the Account *Cæsar* gives of them. He saith, those of *Britain* were more knowing in their Religion than the other of *Gaul*. If there had been any Writing upon this Subject, we may suppose both Nations equally skill'd.

The other Road having cross'd this Lingula of *Northamptonshire*, which lies between the *Nen* and the *Welland*, passing the *Welland*, goes by *Lolham Briggs* to the *Glen*, which it passes at *Catesbridge*, and then leads us to *Burne*. From *Burne*, our Way lies to *Sleford*, leaving *Folkingham* on the Left. From *Sleford* this military Way is not traced farther. Roads from *Briggend* Causeway and *Holland* here fall into it ; but I don't find any body advancing on it more Northward.

The famous Drain call'd *Cardyke*, keeps it company from the *Welland*, lying on the West Side of the Causeway ; and about *Catesbridge* goes on the East Side the Causeway, beyond *Sleford*, till it reaches the River *Witham*. *Cardyke* signifies no more than *Fendyke*. The Fens of *Ankholm Level* are call'd *Carrs*.

The great Northern Road by *Stamford* and *Grantham*, is, in Maps, and some Authors, called *Ermine Street* ; and if no more is meant by it than its proper Signification, a military Way, as *Here* in *Saxon* signifies an Army, and *Hereman* a Soldier, there's no Exception to be made. But if it be supposed one of the four *Chemini majores*, which had the *Norman* Privileges annexed to it, I ask leave to dissent, having, as I humbly conceive, shewn it to have another Course ; and that the Ninth Journey of *Antonine*, goes all the Way upon it to *London*, except the first Station, of which a full Account is already given upon *Norfolk*.

I am aware that some of the eldest Monkish Writers call it *Ermine Street*. But allowing they meant one of the *Chemini majores* by it, the little Pains they took in *Roman Antiquities*, and the Indolence with which they received Things from one another upon Trust, is enough to set aside their Infallibility.

According to the Scheme of the first Writer, this might go for *Ermine Street*. But it is no more marvellous that Doctors should differ in that, than in describing the *Ikening Street*, which some of our best Authors carry through *Norfolk*, and others through *Warwickshire*.

The other Road leading from *Lincoln* to *Newark*, which is the *Fosse*, I shall trace in its Order.

The present Division of *Lincolnshire*, is into *Lindsey*, comprehending the Country North of the River *Witham* to the German Sea ; *Kesteven* containing the Southern Part of the County, till it borders upon *Holland*, the Third Part, which seems to carry no more in it than low Land, from which also one of the United Provinces may be named.

Our Authority for the abovesaid Extent of *Lindsey*, is from the Monks. *Mathew Westminster* affirms it upon the Year 764, and quotes *Bede* for a Part of it. *Eodem anno Ealdulfus in Lindissâ Antistes diem clausit extremum cui Ceolwulfus successit. Hi autem Episcopi ubi sedem haberent cathedralem penitus ignoramus. Quod autem ibi id est in Lindissâ regione quæ inter Lincolniam & flumen Humbri sita est plures fuissent Episcopi certum habemus, quorum primum, ut Beda Venerabilis in Historiâ testatur Anglorum, Paulinus primus Ebor. Antistes ibidem Episcopum ordinavit.*

Lincoln having been in the Roman Times the Metropolis of the County ; and perhaps a Colony as considerable as any they had in *Britain*, we might expect to find amongst the succeeding
Saxons,

Saxons, some Name for the County or Province in general. This one would imagine meant by *Lindiffa*. It is something strange that the chief City, as to Ecclesiastical Diocese, should be the very Border ; that the same Episcopal Jurisdiction should not extend itself through the whole County. For the *Witham* is not so considerable a Stream as to be a natural and impassible Limit.

The Name of *Kesteven*, called by *Æthelward* *Ceostefne silva*, may be owing to a more modern Division of the Country, and might antiently be comprehended under the general Appellation of *Lindiffa*. The Monks are for confining the Diocese of *Sidnacester* to the modern *Lindsey*. Nor are they in that clear and consonant to one, another. That the Bishop of *Sidnacester*, and the Bishop of the Province of *Lindiffa*, was the same, 'tis plain ; the *Provincia Lindifarorum* was the same, the *f* having been corruptly used for *s*, till it gained Prescription, as I imagine.

Lincolnshire in general seems to have been the Diocese of the Bishop of *Sidnacester*, for the following Reasons. First, That *Florence of Worcester* stiles him of *Lincoln*, before the Time that the See was translated by *Remigius*.

Upon the Year 1016. in one of those Battles where *Edmond Ironside* was defeated by the Treachery of *Edric*, he saith, *Eadnothus quoque Lindicolinensis Episcopus Ramesiensis quondam præpositus, & Wulfius Abbas qui ad exorandum Deum pro milite bellum agente convenerant interfecti sunt.*

This was before there was a Bishop of *Lincoln*, the See being yet at *Sidnacester*, as it is generally supposed.

Again, on the Year 1034. *Æthericus Lindicolinensis Episcopus defungitur & in Monasterio Ramesiæ sepelitur ; cui successit Eadnothus.* On the Year 1052. *Robertus Doroberniæ Archiepiscopus,*
&

Æ Londoniæ præsul Gulielmus, & Ulfus Lundicolniensis Antistes cum suis Normannis vix evadentes more transierunt.

It is not improbable that the See was at *Lincoln* before it was at *Sidnacester*; and that upon some general *Danish* Devastation it was removed to *Sidnacester*, as a Town left standing when the other was in Ashes.

These Bishops are by Dr. *Heylin* reckoned Bishops of *Dorchester*.

Farther, the Union is said to be of the See of *Dorchester* with that of *Sidnacester*. And if *Sidnacester* Diocese had contained but that small District of *Lindsey*, it might more probably have been said to be taken into *Dorchester*, than to be united. For *Dorchester*, at that Time, had under it the Counties of *Leicester*, *Huntingdon*, *Bedford*, *Bucks*, Part of *Hertfordshire*, with the entire Dioceses of *Ely*, *Peterburgh*, and *Oxford*; and according to the prevailing Notion, *Cesteven* and *Holland* of *Lincolnshire*.

Another Reason I would urge, that *Lindissa* once signified *Lincolnshire*, is, that *Sidnacester* is lost, nor so much as the Place where it stood is known. *Troy* is from Towers brought to Cornfields; but a City razed seldom hath its Memory quite obliterated. The Occasion of this Loss seems to be the confining *Lindissa* to *Lindsey*; and because that Mistake (if it be one) having once prevailed, no-body hath looked farther after it. Mr. *Camden* would seek for it about *Gainsborough*; others at *Stow*, upon the slight Evidence that the Churches of *Dorchester* and *Stow* are alike. For Bishop *Eadnoth*, who died 1050. built the Church of *Stow*, and he is supposed to have taken Pattern from that of *Dorchester*.

Paulinus of *York* converted *Nottinghamshire*, and the People about the *Trent*, in which River he baptized

baptized them. As *Kesteven* and *Holland* were under the King of *Mercia*, as well as the Neighbourhood of *Trent*, shall we suppose them left out, and that *Paulinus* went over the *Humber*, took in *Lindsey*, and neglected the other Parts of the County? It is probable *Kesteven* and *Holland* came under the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, as *Lindsey* did.

Sidnacester is a *Saxon* Name, and *Saxon* Names are seldom so intirely dropp'd, but we may find the Places by what remains of them. I would look for it at *Ancaſter*, where is a part of the Name, and where *Roman* and later Antiquities are ſeen. This having been a *Roman* Town, and, as I conceive, a Station, was, probably, in great Repute with the *Saxons*, who loved to follow *Roman* Choice. Here they might find the Conveniencies of Life, and generally Fortifications made to their Hands.

If we were to look for it in *Lindsey*, one would gueſs *Caſtor*, from the Name and Antiquity, preferable to *Stow*.

The Right Reverend Annotator upon *Camden*, in his firſt Edition, has a Quotation from *Giraldus*, as follows; *Remigius ſedem ſuam Cathedralem a loco nimis incongruo, & obſcuro ad urbem præclaram & locum competentem ſc. Lincolniam transferre curavit; nec non & hoc quoque quod Lyndeſciam totam ab Humbro marino ad Withemam fluvium qui Lincolniam permeat & penetrat per tanta terrarum ſpatia, contra Adverſarium tantum tanque potentem Metropolitanum ſc. Eboracenſem, innatâ quadam prudentia præditus, & gratia quoque deſuper & Divinitus adjutus tam Provinciæ Cantuarienſi quam & Dioceſi Lincolnienſi ſtabiliter æque potenter adje- cit.* The Annotator's Remark is, Now if all *Lindsey* belonged to the Archbishop of *York* till *Remigius's* Time (who lived ſince the Conqueſt)

the

the old Sidnacester united afterwards to Dorchester, perhaps, can hardly be placed reasonably within the Compass of that Division.

In the later Edition of *Camden*, the same Right Reverend Author hath this; *There is also another Place that may probably enough be thought of; namely, the Hills above Ley and Gainesburrow, where have been taken up many Pieces of Roman Urns, and many Coins of those Emperors; for the Addition of Cester to the Name, makes it highly probable, that Sidnacester, where-ever it may have been, was originally a Station of the Romans. The Castle Hill, Eastward from Gainsborough Church, is surrounded with Intrenchments, containing, as is said, more than a hundred Acres.*

If the Addition of *Cester* shews the Place Roman, we have no Pretence to change it into *Borough*. For though the Names are both *Saxon*, and generally mean *Roman* Fortification, we don't find it a Practice of theirs to change one for the other. The Name of *Gainsborough* may be thought as old as *Sidnacester*. The Fortification upon the Castle Hill, was, perhaps, a Work of the *Danes*, or of the *Saxons* against the *Danes*, in those wretched Times, when the savage brutal Part of Mankind were Masters of their Species; when Churches and Cities, the Residence of Piety and Virtue, were subjected to the Fury of Pagan Vagabonds, and the Habitations of Men invaded by Bears and Wolves in Human Shape.

The sharpest Teeth and the longest Claws have always domineer'd in the Forest, and privately prey'd upon what came in their Reach. But when the united Force of Men was no longer able to defend their Flocks and themselves, and the Beast devoured the Man, there was nothing left for them but to reflect upon the Uncertainty of their Possessions, and to remember their own, and their
Ancestors

Ancestors Crimes, of which this might be the Punishment. Conquering and new planting hath been nothing to this Island, in Comparison of the Piracy and Plunder of *Picts*, *Saxons* and *Danes*. He that called the People his own, must treat them as he did his Cattel, that they might be useful to him. He that made Inroads, had no Consideration but of the present. The miserable Inhabitants of this Country under the *Danes* cannot be more aptly compared than to the Geese they keep at present, who are pulled three or four times in the Year for their Feathers. Then the Animal, pinch'd with Pain and Cold, creeps about till a new Fleece tempts its merciless Owner to a new Torture. They have little Inducement to save the Capitol again.

In this State we need not wonder that the Seats of them were transferred from one Place to another. One City laid in Ashes was not worth rebuilding to undergo the same Fate, nor were the People able to bestow much, if they were willing. They settled, perhaps, where some Conveniences of Life remained, or where they could have earlier Notice of their Enemies Approach, and save their Lives by Flight, though they could not their Goods.

Ancaſter having the Advantage of *Roman* Works for its Defence, it was natural for the Men of *Lincoln* to resort thither upon having their City razed. This, or any other that hath *Ceſter* in its Name, may have been *Sidnaceſter*, which by Alteration of Writing, or Pronunciation, came to what it is. We find the *Saxon Ceaster* ſometimes *Ceſter*, ſometimes *Caster*, by leaving out one or other of the Vowels. The original Name I would gueſs to be *Cyninga-Ceaſter*, the Royal old Town. It might be the Place where the Kings of *Mercia* ſometimes reſided, or their principal Officer of the Province.

Province. This *Saxon* Name might, by an easy Corruption, come to *Cidnacester*, and the latter Part of it, *Ingacester*, answers well enough to *Ancaſter*. I find in *Math. Westminster* on the Year 765, the *d* left out, and *Eadulphus* called *Synaceſtrenſis Episcopuſ*. That *S* and *C* were indifferently uſed will be allowed me.

The Account of the Division of *Mercia* into Dioceſes is very confuſed, owing, perhaps, to the *Daniſh* Inroads. One might have hoped to be better informed from *Bennet College Library*. In Page 67 of the printed Catalogue is this, *Primus in Provinciâ Merciorum & Lindiſfarorum & Medi-terraneorum Anglorum Episcopuſ fuit Dwina; ſe-cundus Cellabambo de Scotia; Sextuſ Winfrith; Septimuſ Seaxwulf. Poſtea vero in quinque Paro-chiuſ dividitur. Poſt Seaxwulfuſ Provincia Mer-ciorum duos Episcopos habuit.*

Upon Search I could find but three. *Nomina Episc. Lindone. Nomina Episc. Leogerneniſis Eccleſ. Nomina Episc. Dorcaſtrenſ.* Thoſe under the Head of *Lindone* are Names very like thoſe in our common Liſts for *Sidnaceſter*. Thoſe of *Leogerneniſis*, are Names very like what our Liſts give of *Dorcheſter* before the Union. *Sidnaceſtre* not being named as a See, we may imagine that See firſt the Biſhops of *Lindone*.

A Part of theſe Manuſcripts may have been defaced before their being copied into the Book they are now ſeen in. And for that Rea-ſon the Title may have more than the Book hath left.

The See *Leogerneniſis* may be the See of *Leiceſter*, it ſounds like *Leyeceſtrenſis*. *Heylin* reckons fix Suffragans under *Aldulphuſ* Archbiſhop of *Litch-field*; the Biſhops of *Winton*, *Hereford*, *Sidnaceſter*, *Dorcheſter*, *Elnham*, *Dunwich*.

From *Durolipons*, *Chesterton* in *Huntingdonshire*, with which the third Part of this Work ends, I go to *Tattershal* in *Lincolnshire*, situate between the Rivers *Witham* and *Bane*, a little above their Confluence. The Distance is thirty five Miles, according to the *Itinerary*. By Miles I mean, as I do every where, the computed ones of the Country. The Reason is given upon *Kent*, that the *Romans* took the *British* Miles as they found them, without reducing them to their own Standard. As the *Britons* had been under different *Reguli*, their Customs too were different, and there are, to this Day, in *England* different Weights and Measures.

From *Chesterton* to *Burne* eleven Miles, from *Burne* to *Sleford* fourteen more, from *Sleford* to *Tattershal* ten: Upon this Road, both at *Burne* and *Sleford* have been *Norman*, and, perhaps, *Saxon* Castles. And it is highly probable there was also some Defence in the *Roman* Times for their Road and their Dyke, as well as the Residence of some of their People against the Inroads of the *Britons*. At least their Coins shew that these Places of Strength were possessed by the *Britons* when the Legions were drawn home.

Burn hath its Name from a Spring or Stream. Here are two remarkable; one a Medicinal Spring, the other flows in such abundance, as to drive three Mills at the Town. It rises near the Castle, which it runs almost round, then turning short, goes in a contrary Course, and affords Water enough to be navigable, carrying Boats of ten Tons, which serve the Town from *Boston*. Either of these might give Name to the Place. If we look at a Village in *Cambridgeshire* called *Burne*, we find there a Medicinal Well, and no other Current worth observing.

This at *Burne* hath obtained the Name of *Spaw*, and brings, it seems, Pilgrims yearly as those of *Scarborough* and *Buxton*. They drink, as the Inhabitants say, two Quarts in a Morning, and hold it three Weeks together. This would make one suspect there is not much Virtue in it besides its diluting Quality. To which, if we add the Exercise of travelling to it, and the chearful and regular Life that is observed during the Course, we may account for almost all but the Taste. And that, indeed, is something brackish like the *Aqua Benedicta*. Limestone hereabouts is in great Plenty, through which, perhaps, this Water comes. The chief Spring is in a Malt-House, but a Pump in the Town produces much the same. At *Stanfield*, a Village a little more Northerly, is another of the same, where Dr. *Stukely* observes many Coins are found.

The Scite of the Castle of the *Wacs*, or *Wakes*, at *Burne*, is yet visible, though none of the Building remains but a Gate-House in a small round Tower on the inner Ditch. The whole within the exterior Ditch seems to have been about eight Acres. The inward Ditch incloses about an Acre, not in the Nature of a Keep, but flat, covered by a Rampire within the Ditch. Here are Works on the North and West Side uncommon between the two Ditches. The Earth is raised about twenty Yards long, and ten broad, and a Ditch between every one of these pointing to the grand Moat. Together they look like a Piece of moory Ground drained. Whether this was a Device for the Defence of the Place, or owing to the Approaches of Besiegers, I cannot say, having never seen the like elsewhere.

In our Way to *Sleford* we have the *Cardyke* on the Right passing by *Sempringham* in its Course to the *Witham*. This Place was famous for being the
first

first of the *Gilbertines* of the *Cistercian* Order. Mr. *Camden* saith, it was expressly forbid by the Constitutions of *Justinian*, that Men and Women should be in the same House. Yet Pope *Eugenius* III. allowed it, and thirteen of these double Monasteries were founded, in which the Number of Women were about double to the Men. As they had no Communication with one another, and had even the Offices of Religion, as well as common Life apart, it moves one's Curiosity to inquire why *Gilbert* was fond of the Project, and why the Pope allowed it.

Here was all manner of Care taken to prevent Scandal, and even the Shadow of it. Why then must both Sexes be brought together only to be parted? Why were they not as well in separate Monasteries?

Mr. *Camden* upon *Sempringam* hath shewed the Age he lived in, and the Infection of Scandal even in candid and noble Minds; so much he was a Courtier, that, in his Turn, he must have a Flirt at the Vices of the Religious, to set a better Grace upon the Suppression. He hath quoted one *Nigellus*, and might as well have quoted him in the original *Cromwell*, whose Business it was to render the Monasteries a Nuisance. He might have quoted the Return of the Commission which produced a History of more Wickedness than the World had afforded from *Sodom* to the Time of Enquiry, or from that Time to this. Had but the twentieth Part of it been true, one might have expected the Laity, as tame as they were, should have pulled their Houses over their Heads; or that the Stones, in an Age when Miracles were so common, should have marched out of their Stations to crush such Monsters of Iniquity. As ill Luck would have it, or that there was a Bribe taken amongst the Enquirers, one House came
T
off

off clear of any Accusation. This should certainly have stood its Ground to justify the Treatment of the rest ; but was swept off in the general Deluge, lest late Posterity should have an Opinion of the Enquirers Sincerity, and imagine *Reasons given* could be otherwise construed than by *Car tel est nostre plaisir*.

Reasons are for vulgar Palates, not to be tasted by those that know better ; who think themselves excused from such Formalities, as much as Sir Roger L'Estrange's Servant Maid, who being pressed to go to Church, answered, *Religion is for Gentlefolks*.

The Translator, which is not common, has exceeded the Poet. The Poet, perhaps, was paid for his Work, the other was zealously affected.

Gilbert had a Fancy to be Author of an Order, and the Pope indulged him for fear of checking his Zeal ; and, perhaps, because the Novelty of the Thing might draw in others to support an Order of greater Perfection, because of greater Self-denial from the greater Temptation.

They rejoiced in their own Works, and that, saith Solomon, was Man's Portion ; who shall bring him to see what shall be after him ? One Age gives Acres for their Souls, another gives their Souls for Acres.

Neither from *Gilbert* himself, nor from the Pope, nor Bishop of *Lincoln*, doth any Thing appear of the Beauty of this singular Institution, but only that *Gilbert* was famed for his Skill in the Education of Women. And this gives no Account at all.

The Castle of *Sleford*, built by *Alexander* Bishop of *Lincoln*, third after the Norman Conquest, Dr. *Stukely* believes built upon a Roman Foundation, Coins, especially of the Family of *Constantines*, he hath seen which were found here.

From

From *Sleford* to *Tattershal*, we have not the least Trace of a *Roman* Way ; and it would be wonderful indeed to have a *Causeway* subsisting twelve hundred Years upon a boggy Foundation. The *Agger* they had is probably got half way to our *Antipodes*.

It is enough for us, that these *Causeways* in these Places were necessary to the *Romans*, and were used by them, and that the Distance of the *Itinerary* is preserved. The great Work they made from *Peterborough* to *Denvers* is a Proof they spared no Pains. And the Accounts we have from their Historians of the Shelter the *Britons* found in the Fens, made it necessary for a compleat Reduction of the Island to have Thorough-fares in this moory Soil, and Forts to secure the Passage.

Sleford and *Tattershal*, with Garrisons in them, might secure the Bogs between from harbouring the Enemy, and starve them in their Retreat. To what Purpose was the Road we came upon from the River *Welland* to *Sleford*, if it went no farther ? Would all that Labour have been bestow'd to make a Passage so far into the Fens without securing them quite through ? It was not to go to *Lincoln* by, for there's another as notorious by *Stamford*, *Grantham*, *Ancaster*, where the Soil is so good as to need but little Addition.

I propose then to go by *Kyme* and *Belingay* to *Tattershal*. The last three Miles are, perhaps, in the same State the *Romans* found them. There is a Ferry which should carry us three Miles to the *Witham*, because the Bank is so rotten there is no trusting to it. But neither is the Water deep enough all the Way for a Boat, nor the Land sound enough to ride upon. The Fens all round are overflowed so as to afford no Subsistence for Cattel. Nothing is to be seen but Ducks, or

heard but the Screaming of Herons. The late Project for draining this Level hath failed. It would throw out the Water, but there was no Fall to carry it off.

Tattershal Castle, what is left of it, is seen in this disagreeable Passage. Half a Mile after crossing the *Witham*, into which the Ferry brings us upon the Stream that comes from *Sleford* by *Belingay*, we come to the square Brick Tower which was the West Front of the Castle, and which is the only habitable Part of it at present.

This Castle, with the Church, the Clergyman's House who serves the Cure, and the Alms-Houses, stands inclosed by the Fortification of a *Roman* Camp. The Tower comes up to the West Side of it. The Buildings, Gardens, and Church-Yard, take up about eight Acres, and an adjoining Field of twelve Acres, call'd *Corn-close*, is also within the *Roman* Square. The *Vallum* and Ditch are plainly to be seen on three Sides, and some Traces of them on the fourth. The West lying next to a Road, keeps its Form still above the Ditch, but of late Years, by manuring, has been lowered. The North Side lying above the Lane to the Town, retains also its original Form, as does the Eastern, upon the *Vallum* of which is a raised Walk from the Town to the Church, just above the low Grounds through which the *Bane* runs from *Horn-Castle* to join the *Witham*.

This antient Place, saith *Camden*, was granted by the Couqueror to *Eudo* and *Pinso*, two great *Normans*. *Eudo* was, perhaps, the same that from his Office was called *Dapifer*.

They had also other Estates. Upon Division *Pinso* had *Eresby*, from whose Children, saith *Camden*, the Inheritance came by the *Bekes* to the *Willoughbys*, who had by their Wives large Possessions of the *Uffords* Earls of *Suffolk*, and the

Lords

Lords *de Welles*, who brought with them the great Estate of the *De Engayns*. There are many Estates in *Cambridgeshire*, *Huntingdonshire*, and other Counties named *D'Engains*, or going by a Name corrupted from thence, such as *Denginies*, *Gaynes*, and the like. These, in all Probability, took Name from their Possessor, the Conqueror's Engineer, surnamed from his Office *De Ingeniis*.

From *Eudo*, *Tattershal* came by the *Drybys* and *Bernakes*, saith *Camden*, to Sir *Ralph de Cromwell*, whose Son of the same Name was Lord Treasurer in the Reign of *Henry VI.* and died without Issue. In the Church there yet remain the monumental Inscriptions of Sir *Ralph*, and his Lady, and one more of the Family. The rest are defaced. This Estate for some Time belonged to the *Fynes*, Earls of *Lincoln*, who within these forty Years have resided here, and sometimes at their Seat at *Sempringham*. They had the Title of *Lincoln* in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. One of the Earls alienated this Estate some time ago. It is, at present, in two different Hands. The Duke of *Newcastle* enjoys two Thirds, another Person one Third.

The Church is a Donative, to which the Lord of the Manor nominates, and allows a Maintenance. It is, at present, attended by the Parish of *Tattershal*, whose ancient Chapel decaying, was put to other Uses. And they repair the Fabrick. The Lands here are let Tythe-free.

It is reported at the Place, that this has been a Collegiate Church, and that *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*, enjoys some of its Lands. The Church is fine and stately, built after the Cathedral Manner, with South and North Transepts.

Let us now examine where Authors place *Durobrivæ*, and compare their Proofs with what

hath been brought, Distance and Remains of Fortification.

Camden fixes it at *Castor* in *Northamptonshire*, called by the Saxons *Dormanceaster*: And would have the Works of *Chesterton* a Part of the Town, and the other Part for a Mile together on the North Side the River *Nen*. He is followed in this by all (but *Dr. Gale*) by the Right Reverend Annotator, by *Morton*, *Baxter*, *Stukeley*.

Against these great Names may be brought the Text of *Antoninus*, thirty five Miles from *Duro-lipons*. Supposing then *Durolipons* to be *Godmanchester*, as these Authors do suppose, how will they make the Distance more than fourteen Miles? If the *Itinerary* is thus scandalously faulty, why have we not an *Index Expurgatorius* to throw all the Numbers away? The Dean of *York*, willing, if 'twere possible, to support the Reputation of the Roman Account, would place the Station at *Brigg Casterton* in *Rutlandshire*, as nearer the Mark than others had been.

Indeed if the *Itinerary* be so full of Blunders as it's generally accused of being, 'tis the only Roman Piece we have that hath passed through so ill Hands. Even *Brigg Casterton* would be but about Twenty-three Miles from *Godmanchester*, instead of Thirty-five. The Pretence *Brigg Casterton* hath to be Roman, I shall examine upon the County where it lies. *Castor* too shall have Justice done it on *Northamptonshire*.

I presume my Scheme not weaken'd by *Castor* or the other, and take my Rise from *Tattershal Durobrivis* to *Causennæ Brough Hill*, on the Military Way from hence to *Barton* upon *Humber* thirty Miles, as saith the *Itinerary*.

Before I quit this Place, some Notice must be taken of the *Banovallum* of *Ravennas*. That Geographer has plac'd it next after *Lindum*, which
hath

hath given Countenance to fix it thereabouts. There being no Distances given us by *Ravennas*, we are left in the greater Uncertainty. It may be question'd, whether *Tattershal* or *Horncastle* be the Place. If being situated upon the River *Bane*, give the Name, both of them have a Right to it. This hath already, according to our Scheme, a Name *Durobrivis*, and therefore need not have another. *Ravennas* has some Names different from the *Itinerary*; whether these were elder Names, and fallen into Disuse, it is not known.

There is no Reason to question that *Horncastle* was inhabited by the *Romans*; and therefore, till better Evidence comes to the contrary, no Objection to its being *Banovallum*. It was fortified with a Wall, which encompassed twenty Acres of Ground. And probably it was for Winter Quarters of that Garrison, who had their *Æstiva* at *Tattershal*. It stands also upon the Military Way from *Durobrivæ* to *Causennæ*. Why the Castle is said to take up twenty Acres, no body can think, unless from the present Name of Castle. We know that Camp, City, and fortified Town were indifferently called, after the *Roman* Times, Castle and Borough. Perhaps there was a Castle or Citadel before the Town was walled in, from which the Place once took its Name, and kept it afterwards.

Mr. *Baxter* is too severe upon *Ravennas*, when he charges him with an Error in writing *Banovallum* with double *l*. That old Author lived nearer the Time of Truth than the other, and the Objection only is, because that way of writing will not suit his Etymology. And this Etymology at last is but *Fluvii Ostium*, or *Alti Fluvii Ostium*. How *Ostium* is applicable to *Horncastle*, I don't know. And if *Banius* be the River's Name, re-

markable for its Depth, neither is that to be had here, for it is but a Brook.

The Dean of *York*, amongst the *English* Names he has put against the *Latin* ones of *Ravennas*, calls *Banovallum Benwall*, I presume from Similitude of Sound, and because he is not tied down by any Figures to do otherwise.

We pass upon this Military Way by the Manor of *Screelsby*, which the *Dimocks* hold by being Champions at a Coronation. They had it from the *Marmions* of *Tamworth*. It passeth at present for a Ceremony, and Piece of State, but probably, in its first Institution, was agreeable to the Practice of a warlike People. Jufts and Tournaments have been the Entertainment of a Coronation. It was the Sport and Pastime of the greatest Men to hazard their Persons in Feats of Arms, who, for the Glory of Victory, were as zealous as in a real Quarrel. Challenges were given and taken without previous Malice, or after Resentment. Our Countryman *Astley*, of a *Warwickshire* Family, fought a Knight in *France*, in Presence of the King and Court. His Reward upon carrying the Day was only the Helmet of his Adversary *Massy*, whom he had brought to the Ground with his Lance; and he had the Satisfaction of bringing home this Helmet, and presenting it to his Lady.

He fought another *Arragonian* Knight before *Henry VI.* and his Court, in *Smithfield*, and came off Victor; he first asked Leave of the King to enter the Lifts; and this Knight had travelled *Europe* through to meet with his Match. The Story at large is in Sir *William Dugdale's Warwickshire*.

Single Combat was a Thing so frequent, that Titles to Estates were tried by it, and all the
Judges

Judges of the Court have sat to see the Right so decided.

So eager were our great Men of this dangerous Diversion, from whence many Accidents ensued, that Kings have prohibited it under great Penalties; and the Authority of the Church was brought in to prevent it.

According to the *Genius* of those Times, we may believe this honourable Office was to enter the Lists with any Knight that should appear to grace the Solemnity. And that he should have had Safe-Conduct, and not have been accused of Disrespect to the Crown for taking up the Champion. When Jufts and Tournaments were prohibited, we may imagine the Justification of the King's Title was his Office. A Man compleatly armed on Horseback, having been the most desirable Sight to *English* Eyes, could not be omitted upon so grand an Occasion.

From *Tattershal* we go to *Brough* Hill for *Causennæ*, leaving the great Park of *Tattershal* on the Left, we pass through *Horncastle*, whence the strait Road carries us up the Hill, and divides, one Branch leading to *Lincoln*, the other to *Brough* Hill. At twelve Miles from *Tattershal* we see on our Right a large Hill, on which hath been a Beacon. It may have been raised for that Purpose. From it we have an extensive Prospect towards *Lincoln*, *Bolingbroke*, *Salfleet*. We leave the Village of *Stanton* on the Right, and keep the Ridge of the *Wolds*, as the Hills there are called, all the Way to *Brough*. About four Miles beyond *Stanton* we cross the grand *Roman Fosse* coming from *Lincoln*, and leading by *Louth* to *Salfleet*.

Barows in this County are very rare, notwithstanding the *Danes* have had so many Battles in it. I have seen but very few except hereabouts. And if any Light can be had into the Age or the

the Design of them, by a Description of these I shall be glad to contribute to it. Two Miles before the Interfection of the *Fosse*, are four on the Road to *Brough*, at a quarter of a Mile's Distance from one another. The first is on the West-Side the Road, the second and third on the East, the fourth on the West. Half a Mile farther is one in the Middle of the Road, and half a Mile beyond that, one on the West. Then upon the South-Side the *Fosse*, just after the Interfection, are two at about sixty Yards Distance from one another, as the *Fosse* leads down the Hill towards *Louth* and *Salfleet*. None of these are ditched about. A larger Account of these *Tumuli* is given in the third Part of this Work upon *Huntingdonshire*.

At twenty four Miles from *Tattershal*, the Military Way carries us just above *Castor*, a Market-Town, through which we may pass with a very small Circuit. This Village, besides its Situation, just below the *Roman Agger*, hath been fortified by Art. The Choice seems to be *Roman*, as near to the *Agger* as was possible to have the Benefit of Water. Here is, in several Parts of the Town, good Water. One Spring is particularly fine, issuing out of an ancient Conduit of Stone, from whence it bursts in four Streams, about four Foot above the Ground. Here are Trees growing in the Bank above it, whose Roots are intermingled with the Stones. The Inhabitants have a Tradition, that there are leaden Pipes which convey the Water to the Place whence it spouts, but none of them are to be seen. Some Pieces of the Walls of the ruinous Castle are to be seen on the South-Side the Church, upon the Eminence. Other Remains of Fortification are met with daily, and sometimes *Roman* Coins, some of which the Clerk hath found in digging Graves.

Whatever

Whatever Use the *Romans* made of this Place, we may believe it of great Service to the *Saxons*, in the Beginning, at least, of the *Danish* Inroads. Whilst those Pagans made only plundering Marches, in the Way of *Tartars*, and went off with what they had got to their Ships, this was strong enough to defend the Men and the best of their Cattle: But when the Enemy grew stronger, and made a long Stay, Walls were no Security against them. Hunger must at length force them to give up the Place. It may have been re-built, and again destroy'd, at several Times, during the Visits of those Northern Guests.

As to the Name of *Thongcaster*, which has obtain'd, we shall not go about to refute the Tradition of its being measur'd round by a Bull Hide for *Hengist*, as *Carthage* was for *Dido*. It should in Strictness have been *Thuang castor* to be so derived. There are several Places of Strength in *England* of the same Name, or something like it, which expresses, perhaps, if we could find the Original, Beauty, Strength or Privileges. According to the promiscuous Use of *Tb* and *D*, *Doncaster* may be named from the same Thing. There are two Places in *Shropshire*, one near *Clun*, called *Tongley*, a steep Hill, on the Brink of which is a strong Camp trebly entrench'd. Another called *Tong-castle* near the *Royal Oak*, famous for a very great Bell. This, saith *Camden*, was antiently called *Toang castle*. *Thean* is a *Saxon* Word for Thriving or Increasing, whence it may possibly be derived.

Ascending the Hill again from *Castor*, towards the East we fall into the Military Way, upon which we came from *Tattershal*, and go on to *Causennæ Brough* Hill. A little above *Castor*, we leave the Road from *Lincoln* to *Grimsby*, on our Right.

After

After we are pass'd *Castor*, we see the *Roman Agger* all the Way in a Line before us. But here it is different from what it generally is ; a Bank ditch'd on each Side, only to preserve the Direction, nor broad enough to travel upon. The Ground is so good, it wants no Raising or Repairs. It is not impossible that some later Inhabitants have raised this upon the *Roman Road*, and made the Ditches by way of Mound or Limit : But that too was unnecessary ; for the Road itself was enough to distinguish the Lands on each Side ; and if it had been for Defence, as well as a Limit, such as the *Devil's Ditch* on *Newmarket Heath*, the Ditch would not have been on both Sides ; but one only to make it more difficult of Access.

Our Road leads on to *Barton upon Humber* : But about Six Miles North of *Castor*, hath on the Right *Brough Hill*, a small *Roman Camp*. It is single ditch'd, and with Ditch and all exceeds not Three Acres. Its pristine State remains, except what Weather has worn away in tract of Time. The Form of it is square, at every Corner the Rampart is twice as high as on the Sides. This seems to have been originally such, what I have in some other of their Camps observ'd, perhaps for those that were upon the Watch, to descry the Approach of an Enemy the farther. The Name bespeaks this *Roman*, as well as the Work. It was for *Castra Exploratorum* lying between the *Humber*, where they had other Forts and Camps, and *Castor*, where probably some of their People had a Settlement. It is the smallest that I have seen, but stands upon the Military Way, between a Village called *Crouston* and *Melton Wood*, Five Miles from *Brigg*. In a neighbouring Village, called *Kinnington*, almost joining to *Crouston*, have been some Coins found, in Possession of Mr. *Howson* ; but so much are they defaced with Rust, that he

he faith, he can find nothing upon them, except *Romulus* and *Remus* sucking the Wolf.

I am not hardy enough to find *Causennæ* in *Crouston*. Bating the *r*, *Cousenton* would come pretty near. But the *Saxons* have in so few Places left us the *Latin* Names, that we must have other Directions to the Places. They have, indeed, left us the Name of *Brough* here, which is something of an Evidence.

This Camp lying between the *Humber* and *Castor*, was of use upon any Alarm, to call out a Part of the Garrison of the Forts, or of *Lincoln*. And though it is smaller than ordinary, might serve to receive the whole Garrison at Night, though of Necessity they must by Day have been great Part of them without Entrenchment.

The Objection of its being small, will lie as well against its being a Camp of any other Nation. It was never raised to secure an Army upon a March, or in Danger of being attacked; but might serve for a Number of *Exploratores*, who, by Provisions frequently brought to them, might defend themselves in so advantageous a Post from an Enemy.

Another Objection is, That it answers not to *Antonine's* Distance from *Lincoln*, which should be Twenty-six Miles. The Way by *Brigg* should be Twenty-five; but that must be given up, because the Level of *Ankholm* has been drain'd long since the *Romans* were here. The Way by *Castor* would make it but Twenty-two; but we are to consider, that the Way from *Castor*, which is called but Sixteen, is only a Summer Way, not to be trusted in the Winter; and the usual Way from *Castor* in the Winter, makes Eighteen. Thus it would be Twenty-four.

But considering going Two Miles farther about, would keep them all the Way upon the *Roman*
Agger,

Agger, which they ever did, rather than strike out new and unnecessary Ways, we may conclude their Prudence led them back from *Brough* the same Way they came, till the Intersection of the *Fosse*, which we already mention'd, leading from *Lincoln* to *Salfleet*, into which they turned and came to *Lincoln*.

This Method of theirs has been taken Notice of in the first Part of this Work, and proved from the *Itinerary* to have been practised. And this doth not only justify the Figures of the *Itinerary*; but also explains some Difficulties in it: For Instance, in the fifth Journey from *Londinium* to *Cæsaromagum*, are Twenty-eight Miles. In the Ninth, where *Durolitum* is an intermediate Station, the Sum is Thirty-one, which must have been by a Circuit. If we compare the Second and the Eighth, where *Laſtorodum* comes between *Bennavenna* and *Magiovinium*, the Reckoning is Twenty-nine Miles; when it comes not between Twenty-eight.

Had *Causennæ* been placed as many Miles beyond the Twenty Six, as it is placed short of it, the Difficulty had been insuperable; but if we shew Military Ways, the keeping of which makes the exact Sum we want; and prove the nearest of all, is not at all Times of the Year possible, we have no Favour to ask, but that the Reader will compare this with the Instances mention'd, more of which might have been produced, and shall be in their Order.

Let us now compare the *Causennæ* of others, with this of our proposing. I need not shew, that none of theirs agree with our *Durobrivæ*: Let us see how they agree with their own. Mr. Camden, who leads the Van, plants *Causennæ*, which he chuses to call *Gausennæ*, at *Brigg Casterton* in *Rutlandshire*, upon the Roman Street, North of *Stamford*.

ford. The Name induces him to make something Roman of it: And as he was pursuing the Road into the North, he would make the next Place he found, pretending to be a Station *Causennæ*. *Castor* in *Northamptonshire*, *Dormanceaster* had been his *Durobrivæ*. I shall not repeat what has been said against that being a Station, though I admit it a Roman Settlement. When I come at *Rutlandshire*, in which *Brigg Casterton* is, I shall propose setting that aside for Roman.

In the mean time, let the Distance be examined between *Castor* and *Brigg Casterton*, and it will amount to no more than Eleven Miles instead of Thirty.

The Right Reverend Annotator repeats what his Patron has said, and makes no Alteration, whence we may conclude, his Silence is Consent.

Mr. *Baxter* is for *Grantham*: He admits *Castor* to be the *Durobrivæ*. And thus he will make but Twenty-three Miles of the Thirty. Yet as he comes nearer the Mark something, than others have done, he triumphs over *Camden*. *Camdeno videtur esse Brig Casterton sive Arx ad Pontem in Icenorum Dynastiâ Rotelandiâ sive Regione Patri. Verum repugnant Antonini Milliaria.*

He had too, strain'd a Point, in order to this Scheme, such as it is. *Causennis* and *Gausennis* were both discarded, and *Cantennis*, by his own plenary Indulgence, taken into their Room. This is for meer Etymology sake, which helps us at last to no more than *Ambitus vel Flexura aquæ*, a Description that is so little edifying, he will have but few Asserters of his Emendation.

Dr. *Gale* makes *Nottingham*, *Causennæ*. He believes the Cells there carved out of the solid Rock, to have been the Work of the Romans. The same Author believes *Brig Casterton*, *Durobrivæ*, and computes the Distance from thence to
Notting-

Nottingham, to be what *Antoninus* makes it; as he does the Distance from *Nottingham* to *Lincoln*, the same as should be from *Causennæ*. This comes so near the Distance, that one would wish all other Circumstances concurrent with it. There would not be above Two or Three Miles wanting of those between *Durobrivæ* and *Causennæ*, if *Brigg Casterton* were to be esteem'd the first, and *Nottingham* the last: And *Nottingham* was, in all probability, esteemed by the Romans, both for its Beauty and Strength, and might be possess'd by them, though they did not think fit to make it a Station. Nor is the Distance from thence to *Lincoln* above a Mile or Two more than the *Itinerary* appoints.

But this of *Brigg Casterton* being *Durobrivæ*, must, supposing it to be Roman, depend upon the preceding Station *Durolipons*. If *Godmanchester*, or *Gormanchester*, as the Dean would have it, be *Durolipons*, *Brigg Casterton* will be but Twenty-three Miles from thence. And if we take away *Durolipons* from *Godmanchester*, as must be done without a more suitable Situation can be found for it than that Place affords, the Foundation for the rest of the Scheme, how plausible soever, drops. And if we go farther back, we shall find the Foundation still more defective; if *Godmanchester* were *Durolipons*, no Author has yet found out a *Cam-boriturum* to agree with it in Distance.

One Objection farther, to the Dean's Proposal of making *Brigg Casterton*, *Durobrivis*, and *Nottingham*, *Causennis*, is this; that we must then get upon the Fosse at *Newark*, to go from *Causennæ* to *Lindum*, without taking any Notice of *Crococolana*, through which we must pass. This is a Thing never seen, that a Station is passed through and not mentioned. They are sometimes passed by without Mention, when taking them in would make

make a greater Circuit than was designed ; but it would make the *Itinerary* less clear and satisfactory, that we should be carried through a Station, and not be told we are there.

Dr. *Stukeley's* *Causennæ*, is *Paunton*, which I find to be little more than Twenty computed Miles from *Castor*, his *Durobrivæ*. The Doctor reckons them Twenty-seven measured. He derives the Name from *Pant avon*, and imagines the more antient Name of the River *Witham*, near the Spring of which it stands, *Cavata*, and that one Division of *Lincolnshire*, called *Kesteven*, is derived from *Cavant avon*.

This would answer pretty well in Distance from *Lincoln*. But I do not hear of any thing at *Paunton* to recommend its Antiquity, but the Distance from *Lincoln*. Here is no fortified Ground, or other Remains of a Station, that I have heard.

From these disagreeing Opinions, one may, with less Blame, ask leave to produce a new one. For if any one of these already shewn is right, all the rest are wrong, for they are against one another, as much as mine is against them.

I may urge farther, that according to these, we have not one Station for the whole Extent of *Lindsey*. It may be answered, That was left to *Roman* Sagacity, and if they did not think it necessary to fortify any Places there, we are not to correct them. 'Tis true, we have great Space in some of the Midland Countries, between Station and Station : But then there are some within a Circle of a few Miles, near enough to have an Eye upon Places the most remote from them. But we do not find them so slenderly provided in Countries bordering upon the Sea, as *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Essex* and *Kent*, especially where they were exposed to the *Saxon* Shore, against whose

Piracies they were particularly upon their Guard, as appears from the Garrisons they maintain'd for that Purpose.

Nor could the Fens be secured against the *Britons*, who harboured there before they were intirely subdued, unless some Fortification were near enough to command them. Nor was the *Longditch* Road by *Cardyke* Side, from the River *Welland*, by *Burn* and *Steford*, of any Use to secure the Fens, unless it went farther to the North-east than *Steford*.

From *Brough* then our *Causennæ*, we go to *Lindum*, *Lincoln*, by the Way we came to *Brough* from *Tattershal*, keeping the *Roman Agger*, and leaving *Castor* on the Right, till we come about Fourteen Miles, then strike into the *Fosse*, coming from *Louth* - and *Salfleet*, upon which we go Twelve Miles to *Lincoln*.

This Place has been so accurately described already, both as to the Beauty of its Situation, and the Remains of *Roman* Building there, which neither Time nor *Danish* Ravages have wholly defaced, that I shall not attempt it again. I shall only observe, that no County in *England* is more compleatly furnished with all Things necessary to Life, than this is, either of its own producing, or by very easy Water-carriage from the bordering Countries, or by Sea from foreign. They have by the *Witham*, upon which *Lincoln* stands, Water-carriage from *Boston*. On the contrary Side, they have by the same River from the *Trent*, what foreign Goods they want, as well as Plenty of Pit Coal, or Sea Coal by the *Foss Dyke*, a Cut of Seven Miles long, made, as 'tis commonly said, by *Henry I.* for the Benefit of the Trade of *Lincoln*.

It was made, as *Camden* observes, a Staple for Wool, Leather and Lead. And if the Genius of
the

the People led them to any Manufacture, their Country would supply them with Materials, and the Opportunity they have of a foreign Trade, might be much to their Advantage: But where Nature has done so much, the Spur to Industry is wanting. Their Land produces them a Maintenance; the Grazing Part of it with very little Labour, and the Arable with less than is bestowed in any other County.

They are not overstock'd with People, as where Manufactures are. Here they consider more than the vulgar *Proletarii Homines* of Handicraft Trades, who are for a merry Life and a short one, and leave their Children Heirs to the Publick.

Apples are much wanting in this Country. Some Parts of it, they tell us, will not bear those Trees to any Perfection; but they grow rotten, and decay in Ten Years Time. The Reason seems to be, from the Vein of Stone immediately below the Staple, which the Roots cannot find a due Nutriment from.

At *Lincoln* we stand in the Centre of many Roman Roads. Northward, we have one strait as an Arrow, leading by *Spital on the Street* to the *Humber*. North-east, we have the *Fosse*, pointing to *Louth* and *Salfleet*. By a Deflection from this last at the Interfection, we go Northward to *Brough*. The Reason why the other, by *Spital on the Street*, would not serve to go upon to *Brough*, has been already given; that the Level of *Ankholm* comes between, which in the Roman Times was undrain'd, and of course impassible. To the South-west we have another Road, struck out to *Horncastle* and *Tattershal*. This towards *Tattershal* comes winding, which *Witham* and its Fens made necessary, and thus the Ground is all the Way good. There was probably a vicinal Way from *Sleford* to *Lincoln*, for those that came

from *Briggend Causeway*. Another there was full South by *Ancaster* to *Grantham*. The *Fosse* leads South-West to *Newark*. And that there is another bearing North-West to pass the *Trent* into *Nottinghamshire*, which hath the Honour, at least, of a vicinal one.

Here are eight *Radii* from this *Colony*, more by three than from any Place that I have observ'd in *England*, more than from *Callewa*, *Præsidium*, *Eburacum*, or even *Londinium* it self. This shews the *Romans* to have been much concerned about this Part of the Island. They had the Fens to guard on every Side against the Natives, who could find Shelter there, and who could run away from a heavy armed Soldier. They were here also provided against the Incursions of the *Saxon* Pyrates, having by their Garrisons secured the Navigation of the *Trent* and the *Humber*.

There is a farther Use in observing these *Roman* Fortifications; they serve to illustrate History. We find from *Tacitus*, when *Petilius Cerealis* was *Pro-prætor* under *Vespasian*, he marched into the Country of the *Brigantes*, with a strong Body of Troops, to humble them. They had been drawn in by *Venutius* to throw off the *Roman* Yoke. He had been ill used by his Wife *Cartis-mandua*, who was grown insolent and intolerable upon the Countenance she had from the *Romans*, and the Power given her by them, for they had made her Governor of the *Brigantes*, for her great Merit. This Merit was betraying the great *Caradoc*, called by the *Roman* Historians *Caractacus*, and delivering him up to *Claudius* to adorn a Triumph, as a Captive. Whilst the *Brigantes* were under a Revolt, the neighbouring Provinces, of which *Lincolnshire* was one, were in Danger of being over-run, if the Frontiers were not well fortified and garrisoned. To this Purpose we find

Forts

Forts on the Mouth of *Trent* and *Humber*, and *Brough*, the *Castra Exploratorum*, to be always upon Guard for their Safety.

The Forts and Castles built by *Agricola*, are, by *Tacitus*, allowed to be upon Ground so well chosen, and of such Use, as no Body could improve upon afterwards ; that not one of them was taken, but held out all Attacks upon them ; nor was any one of his founding, afterwards laid aside as useless, which is a great Character. This Officer had, saith the Historian, once a Design upon *Ireland*, but never put it in Execution : He had received and protected a Prince of that Country, expelled by his People, whom he treated with great Humanity, in order to use him when an Opportunity offered. There was a Province bordering upon the *Brigantes*, which these *Brigantes* invaded in the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*, and were chastised for it by *Lollius Urbicus*. It is called *Genounia*, but where to fix it none has told us.

Lincoln hath been considerable since the *Norman* Conquest. It was, upon account of its Situation, fortified by the Conqueror. A new Work was made, as at *Huntingdon* and *Cambridge* ; the Remains of all three, shew the Compass of Ground they took in ; and, after the Conquest, Parliaments have been held there, one in the 28th of *Edward I.* a second the Year after, a third in the 9th of *Edward II.*

The great Northern Road that came by *Stamford*, *Grantham*, *Ancaster*, to *Lincoln*, goes on by *Spital on the Street* to *Wintringham*, the Land's End of this County. There is no Part of *England* where the Road is more direct. A plain *Agger* is to be seen all along, upon which the Way generally is. One would have expected some

Station between the Water-Side and *Lincoln*. That a Way, and a direct one, should be made and preserved without any Use made of it, is strange. There is no Room to look for any of the *Itinerary*, because they are accounted for elsewhere : Nor is there any thing of a Camp to be seen all the Way. Dr. *Stukeley* shews a Town, *Old Winteringham*, and some Fortifications on the Water-Side, in his *Iter Curiosum*, to which I refer the Reader, and return to *Lincoln*, to go to *Agelocum*, fourteen Miles from thence.

Whether this be strictly *Agelocum*, or *Segelocum*, I have not Light enough to decide. In the fifth Journey 'tis *Segeloci*, in the eighth *Ageloco*. The latter has been the Favourite of Fortune, and always taken for the Right, the other a Corruption from it. They are both set at fourteen Miles Distance from *Lincoln*, between it always and *Danum*, and must mean the same Place. The Reason of *Agelocum* being preferred, is meerly for Etymology sake, and that Etymology so little edifying, that I shall not repeat it.

Some have a Water Derivation of it, being inclined to fix it upon the *Trent*, which by no means suits with the subsequent Stations, so that if we bring it to dry Land, it loses those Pretensions.

Mr. *Burton*, in order to compound this Matter, brings Instances of the *Romans*, adding an *S* by way of *Sibilus*, and he proves that they did so. This we have in *Camden*. Without entring too far into a fruitless Dispute to look for that Truth, which, if it could be found, is not worth the Search ; this may be said, that where the Sound is near the same, and the Consonant remains in one Name, which is wanting in the other, we may most reasonably judge that Consonant to be dropt,

dropt, and that *Segelocum* is the true Word, however unhappy it may be in wanting Friends to discover its Original.

• To justify this Reading, we find in the *Notitia Imperii*, a Place with a Name equivalent to this, only the *Dunum* comes instead of the *Locus*: *Tri-bunus cohortis quartæ Lergorum Segeduno*. This is generally taken to be *Sedgkill* in *Northumberland*. Mr. *Baxter* interprets it *Aridus Collis*, and that suits exactly with the dry Situation where I would place *Segelocum*.

After *Camden*, the Right Rev. Annotator Dr. *Gale*, *Stukeley*, *Baxter* all agree upon *Littlebrough* in *Nottinghamshire* for *Segelocum*. In the first place, Distance does not answer from *Lincoln*, and which is worse, it does not to *York*. But the Offence of a new Scheme will be less, if we do not set *Littlebrough* aside, as not *Roman*. I admit it *Roman*, and am glad to find so many Arguments to make it a Station. That it is not *Segelocum* I presume, because it is not fourteen Miles from *Lincoln*, because if we make it, we lose another Station in *Lincolnshire*; and because if it be *Segelocum* we have not *Antonine's* Distance to *Danum*, nor from *Danum* to *Eburacum*. These three Reasons of my Dissention I submit to the Reader.

The Place then that I would fix *Segelocum* at, is *Ancaſter*. And this is but justifying the Observation of all that have seen it. Its Situation upon the Military Way, its Coins, its Walls, its Vaults, all concurr'd to convince Mr. *Camden* it was *Roman*; to which he adds the Distance of fourteen Miles from *Lincoln*. This has been acquiesced in, or confirmed, by every one since. He calls it indeed *Crococolana*, in which no Body agrees with him. But his Evidence that it is *Roman*, is so constantly admitted, that I shall not say more to that Purpose.

We may observe the Town and the Camp to be different. The Camp is on the East-Side the Town upon an Eminence ; some of the Fortifications of it remain, notwithstanding the constant Ploughing. The Town seems to have been originally distinct from it, built below for the sake of the Water, which is only in the Street. Though Water was daily carried to every Camp, they would not put themselves under that Necessity, where they could avoid it. A Hill was taken to encamp on for Strength and Security, which was more to be esteemed than the Trouble of bringing Water to it. The South-West Side has been treble ditch'd.

This Place I take to have been the *Saxon Sidnacester*, though there are no Remains of that antient See, but what is retain'd in the Name of *Ancafter*. I shall not repeat what hath been said at our Entrance upon this County.

From *Ancafter Segelocum* I go to *Danum* upon the *Trent*, Twenty-one Miles. A Part of this I take *Littlebrough* to be, but am not satisfied whether it was the whole or not. The Works on this Side the River, both at *Torkesey*, and a little more Northward, bespeak a Share. And the *Trent* from time to time hath so worn away its Banks, and filled them up again, that the Compass of this Station is uncertain.

The Distance agrees well enough ; if we were to pass through *Lincoln*, it might be done at Twenty-three Miles, but crossing the *Witham* by the nearest Cut, saves two.

Torkesey, which is the Manor of Sir *Jerman Davers*, is allowed by *Camden* to have been considerable. From *Domesday* he finds there were before the Conquest Two hundred Burgeses who enjoyed great Privileges here, which they held by the Service of carrying the King's Ambassadors
in

in their own Vessels to *York*, as often as they came that Way. The *Saxon* Name of this Place is *Turcerig*. It was probably for the sake of the Fort here, that they pointed the *Fossedyke* hither. That as the *Trent* was on both Sides secured, the Garrison on the East-Side might defend at the same Time the Passage of that River, and the other to *Lincoln* by the *Fossedyke*.

This *Fossedyke* is generally said to be the Work of *Henry I.* But as it may be found more antient than his Time, I am apt to think it a Work of the *Romans*, who must needs know the Convenience of a Communication by Water from the *Trent* to *Lincoln*, and who were more likely to set about such a Work than any of our *Norman* Kings.

Camden, upon *Nottingham*, quotes *Domesday* for the Antiquity of that Town. In this Quotation we find the *Fossedyke* in Being in the Confessor's Time, and not spoke of as a new Work; 'In
 " *Edward* the Confessor's Time there were rec-
 " koned a hundred seventy three Burgeses in it;
 " and from the two Mints there was paid forty
 " Shillings to the King. Moreover, the Water
 " of *Trent*, and the *Fossedyke*, and the Way to-
 " wards *York*, were all looked after, that if any
 " one hinder'd Ships from passing, he might be
 " amerced four Pounds."

If so, *Henry I.* did no more than repair the *Fossedyke*, or scour it after it had fallen to Decay.

The Alteration that was made here in the Rebellion, was such as to obliterate all *Roman* Works, if there were any before. When this Castle was besieged, those Defences which were contrived against Darts, Arrows, Battering Rams, were useless, and therefore, perhaps, defaced. The Banks that are seen there now, are said to have been to keep out the Water upon a Flood. Even the
 Castle

Castle hath nothing left of it but ruinous Walls. Indeed the Situation is so low, without any Advantage from Nature but what the River gave, that one would wonder the Place was ever fortified, except for the sake of the Works on the opposite Bank, that the intire Command of the Navigation might be kept up.

From *Lincolnshire* we go to the adjoining County of *Nottingham*.





A NEW
SURVEY
OF
ENGLAND.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE,



According to the *Roman* Division of *Britain*, was a Part of what the *Coritani* possessed : According to the *Saxon*, it was in the Kingdom of *Mercia*, called *Snottengahamscyre*.

This last is interpreted *Speluncarum Domus*, from the subterraneous Caverns cut out of the Rock at *Nottingham*. These are thought to give Name to the Town, as the Town has done to the County.

The Original of this must be found in the *Saxon* Language. But, perhaps, after our best Searches, nothing will appear worth looking for. It fares sometimes with Etymologists, as with the Man that bought the Quaker's Horse : He was desirous to know his Faults, for which he was sold, that he

he might see the worst at once. The other, willing to avoid the Question, said, he was hard to be taken at Grass. But that not satisfying, out came the Truth ; *Friend, when thou hast catched him, he is not worth a Groat.*

In the *Saxon* Language *Snoter* signifies Wise, and *Snoternysse* Wisdom. Whether these Caverns were cut out of the solid Rock by *Britons*, or *Romans*, we are not told, but the *Saxons* found them done to their Hands. And, whatever Name the Town was known by before, this seems originally *Saxon*. They express by it a Place of Concealment, where People might act and not be seen, or hide what they would keep private. In this Sense our Vulgar still call a Place out of the Way, and hard to be found, a cunning Place. This is, however, submitted, rather in Hopes of being excused than boasted of.

The Boundaries of *Nottinghamshire* are on the North and North-West *Yorkshire*, on the East *Lincolnshire*, on the West *Derbyshire*, and *Leicestershire* on the South. Its Figure is oblong, and inclining to Oval. It is one of the Midland Counties of *England*, between North and South exactly in the Middle. Yet, by the Benefit of *Trent*, hath the Advantage of Navigation as much as any other County, considering that River carries off the Product of the Country, as well as brings in what they want from abroad. *Gainsborough* and *Newark* make a good Figure without Manufacture. The first, indeed, stands upon the *Lincolnshire* Bank, but 'tis the *Trent* to whom it is beholden.

Newark owes more to the Navigation than to the Road Trade.

This River is, indeed, the Glory of the County, watering it for its whole Length, entring it in the South-West Part, then crossing it to the Edge of *Lincolnshire*, goes on North to *Humber*, being, for
many

many Miles, the Eastern Limit against *Lincolnshire*. Its Name in *Saxon* is *Treonta*, which, I presume, is from a *British* Original. This I leave to the Adept in that Language, having heard of no Etymology but that of *Triginta*, its receiving thirty Rivers before it arrives at the Sea, which is justly exploded by *Camden*. It is allowed to be the third of *England*. The *Thames* and *Severn* are larger Streams, and near their Mouth have a much greater Number of Vessels, and a much more extensive Trade. This hath a very long Course, from the first of its carrying Boats, being highly beneficial to those that inhabit its Banks. Its Fishery too is highly applauded, but that consists altogether in the voracious Sort, Pikes. These are admirable in their Kind, and we are not to expect any thing else where we find them.

It is rather a Wonder that any of the rest of our Rivers afford other Fish, and intirely owing to the Provision of Nature, that these won't stir out into the Salt Water, by which they might find a Way into the Mouth of other Rivers. It is not that they will not thrive where Trouts, Tench, Perch, Graylings, and other of the best fresh Water Fish abound, but that they never have been in those Rivers. Where they have been transplanted through Folly or Malice, we see they increase as in their own proper Streams.

The *Trent*, the *Witham*, the *Ouse*, the *Cam*, have but few other, except small Fry. The Eels and Tench that are found in the three last, are owing to the bordering Fens, whose Mud protects them from the Pursuit of the Jacks.

This Stream rises in the *Moorlands* of *Staffordshire*, near the Head of which are three or four more Rivers, which having passed through that County, fall into the *Trent* upon the Borders of *Derbyshire*. These, from almost the same Fountain,

tain, and tending the same Way, are beneficially dispersed through all the Northern Part of the County, instead of being ingrossed by one Channel. Then are they absorbed by the *Trent*, which, in its Way to the Sea, takes also the Rivers of *Derbyshire*, part of *Warwickshire*, and all of *Leicestershire*, after they have watered the Countries they came through.

When we are upon this River, one can't help remarking its Fame for making the best Malt-Drink in *England*. And this leads one to an Enquiry why it is so. The thing I take for granted, that the best is hereabouts; *Burton*, *Nottingham*, *Newark*, *Derby*, are the most famous for it in *England*. The last, indeed, lies at some Distance from *Trent*.

In order to come at the Truth, I will first examine in what the Advantage does not lie, that it may the better appear in what it does.

First, it does not lie in the Kernel. The Barley of many other Counties is as good, and, in some, preferable to what the Neighbourhood of *Trent* affords. Generally the best Land produceth the best Barley, and the best of all sorts of Grain. No body will dispute but there is better Land, better by Nature and by Improvement, than the Generality of this Country can shew.

Nor, secondly, is it in making the Malt. It is very true, that a great deal of Malt is spoiled in the wetting, drying, and the sort of Fuel with which it is dried. Where no Fault is in the Management, it will be allowed, that the Malt in the South is as good, if not better, than about the *Trent*. It is Profit that tempts a Man to spoil his Malt. He that makes it without that View, hath as good as in the North.

Nor, lastly, is it in the Brewing. The same Brewers that made good in their own Country, cannot

cannot do the same here. This Experiment hath been often enough made. By good, I mean as good as in the North. They have, indeed, a Method of beating down the Yest, of stirring their Beer in the working, as if they would produce a more considerable Fermentation than otherwise would be. The Yest of it self will fall if let alone. But if there be any thing in this Practice of theirs, we see them do it in the South every Day, and it does not answer as in the North.

To say positively what is the Thing, I think my self not *Apollo* enough. The Reason given, which I submit to, till I meet with a better, is the Difference of the Water. That there is a vast Difference in the Water of every Country, is very well known. That which drains off the Arable, and brings a Soil with it ; or that with which the Drain of a Farm-Yard mixes, will imbibe much more Sweetness than a clear Spring will from the same Quantity of Malt. That which bears Soap best, is best for Brewing.

One would imagine a great River that hath received a Variety of Streams, could have no one Quality predominant ; indeed, that the Water of all great Rivers is the same, as having a Tincture of every sort of Soil ; yet it is possible that one Ingredient should predominate, because a greater Number of the Rivulets may happen to furnish it.

Our Sailors observe the *Thames* Water preferable to any other of the Island, that after purging, it recovers its Sweetness better than the rest. The same they find of the *Ganges*, with which all the homeward bound from that Country are watered. From what Principle this proceeds, I don't find any that can resolve us, yet the Seamen are convinced of it by Experience.

River Water must be impregnated one of these two Ways, either by what it takes from the Surface of the Earth, or by what it takes from its Cavities. The first from Rain and Floods, must partake of the Soil upon which it fell, and be clear or muddy, as it came from Arable, improved by frequent turning up, and the Compost that is yearly carried on to it. Whereas that which comes off uncultivated Ground, Woods and Heath, hath little more Soil in it than what fell with the Rain.

This seems to be much the least Part of what composes our Rivers. Though it comes in great Abundance, it goes off as fast, and the Channel, in few Days, comes to its old Dimension, unless a fresh Inundation happens. In a dry Summer we find the large Rivers always tolerably full, though many of the Rivulets that feed them are empty. Every Drop of this we must attribute to Springs, not Rain.

They that have writ a natural History of these Counties, have particularly mentioned the Limestone the Earth abounds with. Mr. *Camden* thought *Margidunum*, named from *Marga*, an Earth the *Britons* used in manuring their Grounds, or from that which they plaistered their Houses with. He quotes *Pliny's Natural History* for the Use the *Romans* made of it in their Cielings. And though *Camden* hath not placed *Margidunum* in *Nottinghamshire*, where, I presume, it must be placed, his Etymology serves our Purpose. This Earth, by whatever Name it is called, makes a sort of *Plaister of Paris*, which is carried from *Nottingham* through *Lincolnshire*. With it they make the Floors of their Bed-Chambers in almost every Part of the Country. And though they have Limestone of their own, are content to fetch this so much better.

Camden

Camden, speaking of the River *Dove* in *Staffordshire*, saith, “ The *Dove*, banked with hard Limestone, which they burn to manure their Fields with, runs swiftly for a great Way along the East Part of this County, severing it from *Derbyshire* by its white, clayish Channel, without any Shelves of Mud in it. Lying in a Limestone Soil it sucks in such Richness from it, that in the very Middle of Winter the Meadows on both Sides of it look fresh and green. And if it overflows, and lays the Meadows afloat in *April*, like another *Nile*, it makes them so fruitful that the Inhabitants joyfully tell you their common Rhyme ;

“ In *April Dove's* Flood
 “ Is worth a King's Good. ”

Though there be some Virtue in the chalky Banks, we must believe there is more in all the Cells and Meanders through which the Water passes before it bubbles out in a Spring. 'Tis in the South a daily Practice to lay Chalk upon some Lands, and to put it into some Wells to improve and soften the Water. In *Surrey* 'tis their principal Manure, and in *Sussex* 'tis much used, and fetched from *Surrey* thither.

The Diers have some particular Waters, which they find more absorbent, and retaining a stronger Tincture. Our Ladies make no less Difference in the *Mother of Tea* in the Water they use for that Purpose. If we should say there's Limestone in the best Tea Water, and that it appears from the Crust on the Inside the Tea Kettles, we shall prove too much. For if Limestone be in all Countries, how does it distinguish the Neighbourhood of *Trent* ? Perhaps by its greater Abundance.

Derby Town, famous for good Beer, lies a few Miles from *Trent*, but if the Virtue be from a Mineral, *Derbyshire* may have the same its Neighbour *Nottingham* hath.

In our Mineral Waters it is observed, that in a dry Season they are stronger than in wet, the Land-springs mixing with them. The taking up the *German Spaw Water* is generally in *August*, when the Springs are lowest. And if the Minerals take from the ordinary Springs, these Springs may take something from them.

That the Water of the *Trent* is impregnated by Limestone, from these Observations seems probable. If we go farther, and ask whether the chalky Quality will do all this, it is not certain it would of it self. Perhaps the other Mixtures it meets with in the Mass, may be requisite to produce the Effect. And one may, as the Chymists express it, open the Body of the other, in the manner *Salt of Tartar* does. At last, though Limestone be not the Thing to which this good Effect is owing, it may be from some other occult Principle in the Bowels of the Earth, or from the Union of several Principles, of which we have no certain Account, any more than of the Ingredients of our Mineral Waters, which we call *Steel*, *Sulphur* or *Allom*.

When all is said in praise of the Malt Drink of this County, one Thing must be allowed from Experience: That the Excellence of it is much owing to the Carriage: That if it be carried in a Vessel soon after it hath left working, or in Bottles soon after it hath been bottled, it is much improved. The same is seen in the Beer of other Countries, that it is improved by Carriage, and one part of the same Butt or Hogshead shall much exceed the other, that hath not been moved.

In the *Roman Antiquities* of *Nottinghamshire* I begin with the *Fosse*, a military Way, having its Course from the South-West of *England* to the North-East, leading from the Sea-Coast of *Devonshire* to *Salfleet*, upon the Sea-Coast of *Lincolnshire*. It comes in a direct Line to *Warwickshire* thence to *Leicester Town*, and enters this County at *Willoughby on the Wolds*. It keeps a sort of Parallel with *Trent* till it comes to *Newark*, and there, upon the River's Eastern Branch, has an Inosculation with it. Then it proceeds to *Lincoln*, and from thence by *Louth* to *Salfleet*. There is none of the *Prætorian Ways* more direct than this, nor any that hath so evident Remains of its pristine State. It keeps the Name given it by the *Saxons* more than any of the *Chemini Majores*.

Of the rest, the *Ikening* is hardly known by its own Name, except by Antiquaries ; the Natives, except from reading, are almost every where Strangers to it. In its Course from the *Chiltern* to *Royston* it is more generally known than thro' any other Part of its Length.

The *Watling Street* keeps its Name chiefly in *Staffordshire*, by the most 'tis called only the Street. And so it is called again from *Atherston* to *Higbrosfs*, where, I humbly conceive, it never came.

The *Ermine Street*, that leads from the Western Coast through *London* to *Tarmouth*, as the foregoing Parts of this Survey shew, goes not by its Name, that I know of, in any Country. We have, indeed, a Road by *Royston*, erroneously called *Ermine Street*, which Name, perhaps, it has had as long as the *Narman Conquest*, because in the Buttings and Boundings of Lands in *Tberfeld* some are said to lie next the *Ermine Street*. This Mistake having been once admitted, passed with the succeeding Ages for Truth, though it may be

easily disproved. Another *Roman* Way about *Stamford*, is, in the Writings of the Monks, called *Ermine* Street, by Error too. Enough upon that having been said upon *Lincolnshire*, I don't repeat it.

But the *Fosse*, both with Gentle and Simple, hath its Due for a long Way over the Downs from *Cirencester*, and through *Warwickshire* quite to *Leicester*. The *Oxfordshire* Swains call it the *Fosseway*. One Reason, perhaps, of its being so well known, is, that it crosses a Country which makes no great Use of it, and it is remembered for what it hath been, rather than what it is. When we come into the stiff Clay of *Warwickshire*, and follow it just above *Crompton*, we find its antient Dimensions kept up, and the Hedges at their proper Distance. For as the Road is sometimes used there is Room left to shift, otherwise it had been wholly impassible at some Times in the Year. The same may be observed about *Monks Kirby*. The Lane, though useless in the Winter, may be seen keeping its Course, and of its due Breadth, and is only to be looked at for what it hath been. Even in Summer the Unevenness and Holes make it so uncouth travelling, there's no other Proof wanting that it is *Roman*, because no succeeding Age has been the better for it, nor could be without the Imperial Provision for its Reparation.

This Road, what lay of it North-East of *Higb-crofs*, at least what lay of it North-East of *Leicester*, was in Obscurity till the Right Reverend Annotator and the Dean of *York* revived it. The Dean quotes *Higden* for this, *Ait Runulphus Higdenus viam quæ dicitur the Fosseway per vasta plana duxisse Lincolniam*. The Dean upon *Crococolana*, in the fifth Journey of *Antoninus*, shews his Dissatisfaction in the carrying that fifth Journey, as it
had

had been carried, and substitutes a better in the Room. *Quandoquidem autem longe aliter iter hoc institui supputarunt alii, nempe qui Vernometum per Burrough, Margidunum per Market Overton, vel Belvoir Castle, ad Pontem per Paunton, & Crococolanam per Ancaster designari autumarunt; non hic abs re erit Scenitaus nostram quæ fere militarem illam, the Fosseway, dictam, sequitur, illamque aliam oculis subjicere, ut qui vis æquus rerum æstimator, habitatione tum singulis locorum-appellationibus, tum eorum distantis a Romano Gromatico mensuratis, uno intuitu dignoscat, an aliorum, an nostræ calculum sententiæ apponat.*

Dr. Stukeley, as we have it in his fifth *Iter*, being convinced that the *Fosse*, which came from *Bath* to *Leicester*, had a further Course to *Lincoln*, set himself to prosecute it: Riding thro' rough and smooth, he found the Road, at one time or another, directly before him. Where the Clay had devoured the Stone Causeway, or the Neighbours had broke it up to mend withal, it was not to be traced.

The learned Commentary hath landed us upon the *Fosse* at *Willoughby in the Wolds*, at its Entrance into *Nottinghamshire*. The same thing had been done in the Annotations on *Camden*, many Years before, where the *Fosse* is mentioned leading from *Leicestershire* to *Lincolnshire*. In this Mr. *Camden* had been perfectly in the dark, the Traces being very obscure, and his Inclination leading him more to the East, to make *Ancaster Crococolana*, and the intermediate Stations subservient to that Scheme.

There is a Difficulty under which this new Course of the *Fosse* labours, but what, I think, may be fairly cleared up. *Ratæ* hath been, by every Author, made *Leicester*. *Camden* owns he finds nothing at all of the Name remaining, which he always, with too much Desire, looks for, except

something be retain'd in the neighbouring *Rawdykes*, which Dr. *Holland* reads *Radedykes*, or *Road-dykes*. This hath been constantly a *Postulatum*, that *Leicester* is *Ratæ*. Then, of Course, *Vernametum* is to be found between *Leicester* and *Willoughby*. As neither Distance or Remains will countenance the Choice of any Place upon the *Fosse* between these two, here seems to have been a general Stop, and the Game given up.

Dr. *Gale* makes no Scruple of fixing *Marigdunum* at *Willoughby*, for which he hath good Reason. But for *Vernometum*, he will not pronounce: *Accedit quod hic Romana cernuntur vestigia in oppidorum nominibus Loughburrough, Burghley, & Barrow. Cum vero nihil nisi nuda supersint hic nomina, ubi stationem hanc figam plane pendulus hæreo, licet non multum refragetur milliarius numerus ad Charneley quod eandem obtinet distantiam a Ratis ac Burrow quo locatur Vernometum hoc a plurimis Antiquariis.*

But if we go to *Charnwood* Forest we break the Line of the *Fosse*, hitherto preserv'd perfectly strait, except where a Mountain or Bog diverted it. The same from *Willoughby* to *Salfleet* may be observed. Shall we give up *Roman* Exactness, a Line we have no other Exception to for above two hundred Miles, rather than try some other Method of reconciling the Difference? May we not as well suspect we are in some Error before we come at this Place? There is Room enough for Amendment when there is nothing to tie us down.

There is no Distance fixed upon the *Fosse* for many Counties; how then should any Man be sure he is right before he comes to the Place where he thus sacrifices his Rule?

Camden, who calls *Leicester*, *Ratis*, owns he has not so much as the Shadow of Etymology for it. Yet he leaves the Line to go to *Barrow* to *Erdborough* in *Gartre* Hundred for *Vernometum*. The
Camp

Camp he finds here, shall be mentioned upon *Leicestershire*. In this Mr. *Burton* hath given neither Assent nor Dissent. The Annotations on *Camden* back him in this Conjecture, chiefly upon the Strength of Etymology. As *Vernometum* had been interpreted a great Temple, the *Vestigia* of such a Building are thought to be more plainly seen than of a Town, to which Temple, its supposed, the neighbouring Colonies resorted.

Dr. *Stukeley* hath viewed this Place, and given a particular Description of it, believing it to be *Vernometum*, but owning he found no Roman Way between it and *Leicester*.

I take the Liberty therefore to call *Leicester*, *Vernometum*, and then the Matter is accounted for, without breaking the Line of the *Fosse*. My Proofs I refer to *Leicestershire*, which, if I fail in, I am content this Superstructure should drop.

Whilst I am upon this Line, and prove the Distance from Station to Station to be according to the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, it will not be expected of me to shew more than the Place where these Stations were.

Dr. *Stukeley*, who most carefully looked for them, owns he can find nothing but the Place where some of them stood. And that is satisfactory enough. If we consider the *Danish* Devastations in this Island, and those made by the *Saxons* too, whilst they were but Plunderers, and had no Settlement, there's Room enough to wonder we have so apparent Remains of what they industriously razed.

We see even Roman Materials, in many Towns, made use of in the rebuilding them, whence they are too often said to be of Roman Workmanship. And we see a great many Foundations undoubtedly theirs, which the Flames never reached, and which served the Purpose of After-ages to build upon.

Many Arches and Pieces of Gates and Walls are still left of *Roman* Work, which being at first strong and durable, were covered in Rubbish at some general Fire, and so protected from being totally burnt up, at least from having the Form of them destroyed.

We have Instances of *Roman* Towns being wholly razed. Though the Materials might not be all consumed by Fire, those few that were left, have been carried off to build with elsewhere, and even to mend Highways with. To which there was an Inducement, the making the Land fitter for Ploughing, after it had been enriched by the Rubbish of the Buildings. Their Camps are generally visible at this Day. As they chose the highest Ground, and the driest, which would not answer the Purpose of Agriculture, and only serve for Sheep-Walks, they remain in their pristine State. But where they happened to be upon a good Soil, perhaps, for want of a worse, the Labour of After-Ages hath been bestowed to level the Ramparts, in order to make Way for the Plough.

Willoughby is at *Antonine's* Distance from *Leicester* thirteen Miles. The Right Reverend Annotator observes, “ that in a Field belonging
“ to it are the Ruins, as the Inhabitants say, of a
“ Town called *Long-Billington*, which has been
“ long since demolished. Hereabouts the Plough-
“ men and Shepherds commonly gather up Coins
“ of the *Romans* in great Numbers.

The Dean of *York* saith upon *Margidunum*, *Willoughby* on the *Wolds*, *Oppidum adhuc inter vasta & juxta Dunum situm. Calce sive Margâ quâ sæcundant agros tota hæ regio inter Barrow in Comitatu Leicestrensi, & Margidunum hoc, scates: Romanamque fuisse stationem copia nummorum hic indies in lucem producta arguit, quemadmodum*
&

Et via in viciniâ Militaris quæ ducit ad Pontem.

Dr. Stukeley gives the following Account.—

“ After some Time, I perceived I was upon the
 “ Spot, being a Field called Henings, by which, I
 “ suppose, is meant the antient Meadows. This
 “ is upon the Brow of a Hill overlooking Wil-
 “ loughby Brook, rising in Dalby Lordship, and
 “ playing in pretty Meanders along a Valley be-
 “ tween Corn-Fields, with a moderate Water,
 “ unless raised by Rains. Here, they said, had
 “ been an old City called Long-Billington. ’Tis
 “ called the *Black Field* in common Discourse,
 “ from the Colour and excessive Richness of the
 “ Soil, so that they never lay any Manure upon
 “ it. Here is a Place called *Thieves*, and another
 “ called *Welles*, near where now a Barn stands,
 “ and all this Length, they say, the City reached,
 “ and that there was a Church on the Top of
 “ *Welles*, but the City was most on the Wil-
 “ loughby Side, for the Land on the other Side
 “ in *Broughton* Lordship is poor, whilst this is
 “ luxuriant to the last Degree.

“ The Soil is perfectly black, though all the cir-
 “ cumjacent Land be red, especially North of the
 “ Valley upon the Edge of the Hill, and where
 “ most Antiquities are found.—Many *Mosaic*
 “ Pavements have been dug up. Gee of Wil-
 “ loughby, saith, he hath, upon Ploughing, met
 “ with such for five Yards together, as likewise Pot-
 “ Hooks, Coins, Fire-Shovels, and the like Uten-
 “ sils, and many large Brass Coins, which they
 “ took for Weights.—Broad Stones and Foun-
 “ dations are frequent upon the Side of the *Fosse*,
 “ several found at *Welles*. The Ground naturally
 “ is so stiff a Marl, that at *Willoughby* Town they
 “ pave their Yards with Stones fetched from the
 “ *Fosse*.

“ *Fosse*-Way even to the Slope of their Pits, for
 “ the Cattle to drink at. At over and nether
 “ *Broughton* and *Willoughby* too the Coins are so
 “ frequent that you hear of them all the Country
 “ round. ”

As to the strait Course of the *Fosse*, the same Author saith, “ Upon every Hill Top I made an
 “ Observation of some remarkable Object on the
 “ opposite high Ground, which continued the right
 “ Line, so that by going strait forward I never
 “ fail’d of meeting it again. I observed too
 “ at such a Time of the Day exactly the Sun was
 “ perpendicular to the Road, for it continues the
 “ same Bearing throughout. ”

From *Margidunum* the *Itinerary* leads us to *Ad Pontem* for the next Station at seven Miles Distance, keeping the *Fosse* in its North-East Course. This too is one of those that *Danish* Fury hath left us no Memorial of. The Place is easy to determine, for it must be between *Margidunum* and *Crococolana*. And here the *Fosse* shews us where it must have been. If it had been a *Roman* Practice to make Excursions from the *Fosse* to take in a Station, as is usual, upon the *Watling* Street, and upon many of the Vicinal correspondent Ways, here is no Room for it ; because in the eighth Journey of *Antoninus* from *Tork* to *London*, *Margidunum* immediately follows *Crococolana*, without any mention of *Ad Pontem* between them. And the Distance is the same in the eighth as it is in the sixth. In the eighth fourteen Miles, and in the sixth twice seven.

In the Road from *Willoughby* Dr. *Stukeley* observes, “ The Pavement upon the Road is very
 “ manifest of great blue Flag-Stones laid edgewise
 “ very carefully. The Quarries whence they took
 “ them are by the Side of the Hill. This Pave-
 “ ment

“ ment is a hundred Foot broad or more. But
 “ all the Way thence it hath been entirely paved
 “ with red Flints, seemingly brought from the
 “ Sea-Coasts.

The first that I find of *Bridgford on the Hill* being esteemed *Ad Pontem*, is in the Annotations upon *Camden*. The Discovery of that and more Antiquities of this County, is attributed to Mr. *Foxcroft*, Rector of *Wivverby* in *Leicestershire*.

“ From hence, say the Annotations, (from *Willoughby*) the *Fosse* passes North-East through the
 “ Vale of *Belvoir*, and therein through the Field
 “ of *East-Bridgford*, or *Bridgeford on the Hill*, in
 “ which are still the Remains of a Roman Station,
 “ near a Spring called the *Oldwark-Spring*; and
 “ the Field wherein part of this Camp lies, is
 “ called to this Day *Burrowfield*.” The same Gentleman had seen a Silver Coin of *Vespasian* found there.

It follows, “ What farther confirms the Con-
 “ jecture of a Station here is its Distance from
 “ *Willoughby* about eight Miles, and near the
 “ same Space from *Long Collingham*, about three
 “ Miles beyond *Newark*, near which, in a large
 “ Field, there is some Reason to fix another
 “ Station.”

But then we have what destroys the Scheme;
 “ The *Fosse* Road, indeed, lies above a Mile
 “ from it.”

Mr. *Gale* hath, to the same Purpose, *Ad Pontem, East-Bridgford, inter Nottinghamenses; hic se adhuc ostendunt Romanorum Reliquæ & campus ubi compareant ab incolis dicitur Burrowfield.*”

Dr. *Stukeley* observes much the same, and that as to this particular Station upon the Road, perhaps a Bridge was the Sign of the Inn. In a Pasture near the *Fosse*, called *Castle-Hill-Close*, hath been

been a large Building, Coins, and small earthen Pipes for Water have been found there, and Urns, Pots, and *Roman* Bricks.

As to the Name of the Place *Ad Pontem*, it is observable, that it is not in the ablative Case, as the rest are ; if it had been at a Bridge it would have been *Ponte*, as we see near *Darking* in *Surrey*, where two Bridges are, it is *Pontibus*. The Name that is most like it is, that *Ad Ansam*, of which an Account hath been given upon *Suffolk*.

It is evident there could be no Bridge here upon the *Fosse*, for there is no Water, except at the *Trent*, that can have any Pretence to one. Fords there were several upon that River, as appears by the Names of neighbouring Villages, *Wilford* and *Shelford*. Nor can a Reason be guessed at for naming this Village upon the Hill *Bridgford*, but as it hath Relation to the other *Bridgford* upon *Trent*. A Bridge, I presume, was over the *Trent* to *Nottingham*. The Road leading to it was called *Via ad Pontem*, or *Agger ad Pontem*, by way of Eminence ; for Bridges were but little in Use amongst the *Romans*. I believe never but where their Ford might deceive them upon a sudden Inundation. Even the River *Severn* had no Bridge in *Shropshire* ; the Station therefore that commanded it was placed at the only Ford that is to be found there. It is observed of *Trent*, that when it swells it keeps up for a great while, being the Receiver of so many Streams : Therefore a Bridge to *Nottingham* was more requisite than upon a Stream that falls as suddenly as it rises.

This Station *Ad Pontem* seems unnecessary, as being but seven Miles from another, either Way. The Reason of its Erection seems to have been, that it was upon a Place considerable for Traffick

sick and Travelling, where a Way from *Ancaſter* fell in with the *Newark* Way to *Nottingham*.

Camden, indeed, would Place *Ad Pontem* at *Paunton* in *Lincolnſhire*, firſt, becauſe there is ſome Reſemblance in the Name, and that it ſtands upon the *Witham*. But the *Witham*, at that Diſtance from its Riſe, never deſerved a Bridge. So beautiful is Etymology, that grave Authors ſhew their Knight-Errantry in an unwearied Purſuit of her. His other Evidence is *Teffelated Pavements* found at *Paunton*, and ſeven Miles Diſtance from *Ancaſter*, his *Crococolana*. The Neighbourhood of the great Military Way from *Stamford*, by *Grantſham*, may account for Roman Remains.

For this he hath the Countenance of Mr. *Baxter*; “ *Ad Pontem apud Antoninum hodie Paun-*
“ *ton magna eſt in Icenis ſive Lindeniſium con-*
“ *ventu. In Ravennate libro Duroviguto eſt caſu*
“ *ſexto.*” He brings *Durovigutum* from a great Way off, to make it the ſame as *Ad Pontem*, and explains it *Aqua Vigantium ſive Icenorum*. He delights to call the *Lindenſes* the *Iceni*, in which, I think, he is ſingular.

From *Ad Pontem* I go ſeven Miles to *Crococolana Newark*. As to this Name, there has been an Emendation to *Crocolana*, as if the ſecond or third Syllable had been inſerted by Miſtake. There being no Light to be had in the Affair, I leave it as I found it *Crococolana*, becauſe it is not from Difference of Copies, but the way of writing it, which ſeems uncouth, perhaps, becauſe we don’t know its Original. When the *Foſſe* is eſtabliſhed from *Leiceſter* to *Lincoln*, and its Courſe allowed to be thro’ *Newark*, what is it that can tempt any Man to leave *Newark* for any Place in the Neighbourhood? Here we have both Diſtance and Situation : Diſtance from *Willoughby*
of

of fourteen Miles, from *Lincoln* of twelve, as saith the *Itinerary*.

The Annotations upon *Camden*, who first traced out the *Fosse* for us, and shewed us *Willoughby* and *Bridgford*; for *Margidunum* and *Ad Pontem* pass through *Newark* to *Long Collingham*, three Miles to the North, choosing that Place for *Crococolana*. The Similitude of Sound must have been the Thing that gave *Collingham* any Pretence. It lies low upon the Rivulet called *Fleet*, the Parish might extend to the *Trent*, and then we may find a *Saxon* Etymology for it without going higher. *Ceol* signifies a Ship, and thence might it be named from a Key or Loading Place. Thus was the antient Name of *Chelsea*, according to *Somner*, *Ceolesige*.

The Annotations reckon nine Miles from *Leicester* to *Willoughby*, thence eight to *Bridgford*, nine to *Collingham*, and nine to *Lincoln*, which is a great Improvement above what any-body has done before. This is called, pretty well piecing up that vast Breach between *Leicester* and *Lincoln*. The Number of Miles comes within four of the *Itinerary*, which may be thrown in between *Leicester* and *Willoughby*.

Dr. Gale is also for *Collingham*, “Crec, Croc, “Croco, & Crocar sunt variorum apud nos fluviorum appellaciones, imo & Cole & Colne. Collingham invenies ad fluvium quem vocant Fleet “Lincolnienses. Cyvlym Britannis est idem quod “Anglis. Fleet nempe velox, rapidus, unde “nomen forte huic Stationi ad ripas hujus Fleet uti “hodie dicitur”. As to the Coins found here, the Neighbourhood of *Newark* and the *Fosse* may account.

Mr. Baxter, who puts this Station at *Ancaſter*, derives the Name from the Heath, and interprets the *British* into *Ericetum speciosum*.

Dr. *Stukely* chuses *Brough* near *Collingham* for the Station, three Miles North of *Newark*. Great Plenty of wild Saffron growing here, he was once inclined to think that Plant gave Name, but at present is better satisfied with Mr. *Baxter's* Derivation. He admits, *there is at Brough no Roman Token visible; but Coins have been found here, and all the Way between it and Newark*. He saith, "*Newark* was certainly raised from the
 "neighbouring Roman Cities, and hath been
 "walled about with their Remains. The Nor-
 "thern Gate is composed of Stones, seemingly
 "of a Roman Cut. And not improbably the
 "Romans themselves had a Town here, for many
 "Antiquities are found about it, especially upon
 "the *Fosse* Side, which runs quite through the
 "Town."

Distance I have already urged to agree with *Lincoln*, which is not to be had at *Collingham*. And if we argue from Remains, why should not the Memorials of the Romans as well extend from *Newark* to *Brough*, as from *Brough* to *Newark*.

Whoever views this noble Situation of the Town and Castle above the Passage of the *Trent*, the Navigation of one Branch of which it commands, must prefer it to any Thing hereabouts. It is suitable to Roman Choice, and hath been doubtless a Place of Importance in the Wars between the Britons and Saxons. It had been so burned and battered, that upon rebuilding, it obtained the Name probably of *New Work*.

We have near *Bridgford* a Place called *Oldwark*, referring to the Romans; and this, in the State it is, might be altogether Saxon, compos'd partly of Roman Materials. 'Tis every Man's Observation, that the Saxons loved Roman Settlements, both for their Materials, and their Choice of Ground.

If we allow any Credit to the private History of the Church of *Southwell*, mentioned by Mr. *Camden*, that *Paulinus*, the first *Saxon* Archbishop of *York* built that Church, after he had baptized the People in the *Trent*, we may believe the more antient *Saxon* Name of *Newark* to have been *Tio-vul-fingacester*. This History would make *Southwell* that City, to which Mr. *Camden* inclines, because what *Bede* saith of *Paulinus*, the History fixes at that Place. The Archbishop might build the first Church there, after he had baptized the People in the *Trent*, near *Tio-vul-fingacester*. The *Cester* supposes the Place to have been *Roman*, which no-body saith of *Southwell*; and that Part of *Trent* which is nearest *Southwell*, may be properly said to be near *Newark*. Whatever Place this long Name belong'd to, it hath been dropt for another. *New Work* is an occasional Name for a Place that had another Name before. This is no more than Conjecture.

We shall farther see the Importance of this Place, if we view the Confluence of Roads to it from every Quarter, as to their Centre, from *Gainesborough*, *Lincoln*, *Sleford*, *Grantham*, *Leicester*, *Nottingham*, *York*.

If the Castle here was built by *Alexander* the third *Norman* Bishop of *Lincoln*, as *Camden* observes from the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, it must be out of his Diocess, whether his own private Estate or not, he doth not say. The Church is handsome and lofty, a great deal of painted Glass in it. On the Inside the Roof all the way are Arms, *Argent* a cross *Gules*.

The next Station of this County, I presume is *Danum Littlebrough*, for so some of the Neighbours pronounce it, from *Segelocum*. *Ancaſter* Twenty-one Miles. I have already observed upon *Lincolnshire*, that *Torkesey*, or a little farther

North

North, there may have been a Fortification to secure the Navigation of *Trent* and *Fossedyke*; and that the Station may be extended to both Sides the River. The Place will be allowed me Roman, the only Difficulty is to prove it *Danum*.

Camden had once thought *Idleton* the *Segelocum*, but afterwards was fully satisfied in *Littlebrough*, both from Situation on a Military Way, and the Remains of an old Wall discernable in a neighbouring Field, as well as from the Coins there called *Swine Pennies*.

The Annotations have collected the Opinions of other Authors: *Talbot* for *Aulerton* in *Shirewood*; and *Fulk* for *Agle*, six Miles off the other; Dr. *Thoroton* for *Eaton* on the Bank of the River *Idle*, which, upon that Account, may as well be called *Idleton*, from the *British*, which denotes a Granary; and thus there would be Affinity between that and *Segelocum*, a Place of Corn. But, “this (say the Annotations) is scarce fair to bring it to *Idleton* upon the Likeness of Sound with *Agelocum*; and afterwards to settle it there upon a Nearness in Signification to *Segelocum*, one of which Readings must be false.” Mr. *Burton* approves of *Camden*’s Conjecture of *Littlebrough* being *Segelocum*, or *Agelocum*.

Dr. *Gale* makes *Littlebrough* Roman, and hath himself seen Urns and Coins there. A Roman Fortification he allows on the Eastern Side the *Trent*, though the Town of *Littlebrough* be on the Western.

Mr. *Baxter* asserts *Littlebrough* to be Roman and *Agelocum*.

Dr. *Stukely* is of the same Opinion, and gives a particular Account of Coins found there.

The Evidence of these Gentlemen is enough for me to call the Place Roman; our next Task is to find it *Danum*. This *Danum* was, according to
Y the

the *Notitia Occidentalis Imperii*, the Station of the *Præfectus Crispianorum Equitum*, so named from *Crispiana* a Town of *Pannonia*. This was one of the fourteen Garrisons that were under Command of the *Dux Britanniarum*, on whose Ensigns were fourteen Towns placed upon the Island.

It will in the first Place appear, that *Danum* cannot be *Doncaster*, without egregiously altering the Figures of the *Itinerary*; although Mr. *Camden* and all have taken it to be so. Dr. *Gale* saith, *Danum uno ore omnes statuunt esse Doncaster, nec refragantur Antonini mensurationes.*

Yet from *Doncaster* to *Castleford*, near the Confluence of the *Arc* and *Calder*, which is as well agreed by the same Authors to be *Legeolium*, we have but about ten Miles, and thence to *York* about fourteen; whereas the *Itinerary* hath from *Lindum* the following Numbers,

| | |
|-----------------|-----------|
| <i>Segeloci</i> | M. P. 14. |
| <i>Dano</i> | M. P. 21. |
| <i>Legeolio</i> | M. P. 16. |
| <i>Eburico</i> | M. P. 21. |

So that here will be wanting between *Doncaster* and *York* fifteen Miles of the Complement of *Antoninus*, a Thing more worthy to be regarded, than the Name of the River *Dane* at *Doncaster*, to determine the Town *Danum*.

As the *Itinerary* doth by no means agree with this Scheme of *Doncaster* being *Danum*; on the other hand it doth perfectly agree with ours. By making *Ancafter Segelocum* we have our Distances to *York* exact, which is sufficient to gain Credit for *Ancafter*.

By this Method is this whole fifth Journey of *Antoninus*, as far as *York*, accounted for, without altering one Figure. One Part proves the other,
and

and at the same time the *Itinerary* is proved exact and consistent with its self.

Let it be considered, that it is a Maxim with all Antiquaries, to preserve the Numbers as sacred as they can. And though they will sometimes break through themselves, they are always tender of allowing the Practice in others.

Let it be examined, for what laudable Reasons the Numbers have been broke through, and the Copyers charged with unpardonable Blunders. Upon one or both these Accounts it hath been, either for the sake of Etymology or Coins.

Etymology is beautiful, when it is used to support and confirm what hath a Foundation before. But it is not enough to ground any Thing upon. Remains of Fortification, Distance, and Situation, are surely preferable to Similitude of Sound.

If we could observe in the *Saxons*, from whom all our modern Names of Places come, any Desire to keep up the *Roman* Names, more might be expected from Etymology. But they came hither Pirates and Plunderers, and laid Waste a great Part of the Country. When they made their Settlements they gave generally new Names, retaining little more than *Ceaster*, and *Borough*, or *Brough*, by which they meant a fortified Place.

As to Coins, we are far from being sure the greatest Part of them were of *Roman* hiding. If they were, Experience shews us they are in abundance of Places that have no Pretence to be *Roman*. Is it more probable the *Romans* should leave their Money behind them, which they could have carried away; or that the *Britons*, harrassed by the *Picts* and *Saxons*, should hide theirs, who had no Place to carry it to? If we once go to proving all Places *Roman* Stations or Cities, where Coins are found, we shall prove too much: And may more rationally suppose them to be *British* Treas-

sure, which a Man hid in his own Ground, where-ever he dwelt, but chiefly in Towns where they lived together for Security; and that if the Owner was killed, the Money was lost.

As to Etymology, I shall make only this Remark, That after all the Pains that have been taken to fix the Stations where the modern *Saxon* Name hath some Affinity to the *Latin*, though the Figures have been altered and new moulded for the Purpose, there are not above thirty Stations in the whole *Itinerary*, that have Names bearing any Resemblance to what they are called at this Day. Then if Similitude of Sound be our chief Evidence, what becomes of all the rest who have none of this Proof to boast of?

Nottingham, whence this County takes its Name, one would imagine considerable in the *Roman* Times. But we find no Memorial of that People here. The Place by Nature is beautiful and strong, such as will make After-Ages wonder they should neglect it. Whether they had a Castle upon the impregnable Rock, as it proved to its Assailants, we are no where told; yet we cannot imagine them ignorant of a good Situation, and to have made no use of this which holds up its Head above most in *Britain*.

If the Stations were not otherwise accounted for; and if this could by any Means be made a Link of the Chain, one would look for *Nottingham* in the *Itinerary*, as Dr. Gale has done, who believes it *Causennis*, *aliter Gausennis*, *rectius Gofennis vel Gauvennis*. *Ceven* & *Coven* & *Goben* sunt *Rupes conglomeratæ*.

The same Thing is seen of *Warwick*, whose Situation is as glorious as any the Isle affords, yet no *Roman* Memorials are found there. It is sometimes called *Præsidium*, but not so much as a
Station

Station or Military Way are attributed to it, both which I believe its Due.

Nottingham may have been possessed and fortified by the *Romans*, and yet no Station. Many Camps may be seen which are not brought into the *Itinerary*: Many that have no Name except one to be guessed at in *Ravennas*.

This impregnable Place, as it proved till the Use of Gunpowder, might be the Residence of the Duke of *Britain*, or any other Great Man.

The subterraneous Caverns cut out of the firm Rock under the Castle, the Dean of *York* takes for *Roman* Work, as suitable to their Grandeur and Invention. He gives Instances from *Higden* and *Giraldus Cambrensis* of the like, as at *Deva* and *Venta Silurum*. By whatever People they were made, they seem to have been contrived for a Store-house of Corn or other Provisions. This might have been a Royal *British* Seat before the *Roman* Conquest. The *Britons* had Hands enough, and might chuse to hew out of the Rock Rooms for their Stores, rather than build above Ground, especially when they had so secure a Place to defend them in, and were in no Danger of having them fired by the Enemy.

Camden, both upon *Essex* and *Kent*, observes some very deep Pits made in the Earth, with spacious Caverns below, the Entrance to which is narrow. The Vault is supported by Pillars of Chalk. One of these is near *Tilbury*, the other about *Feversham*. Various, he saith, are the Opinions about them; his own is, that the *Britons* hence drew out Quantities of Chalk to manure their Lands. He observes farther, that these are only to be found in a Vein of Chalk. From *Pliny* he hath it, that this was a Custom of the *Britons*. That Author doth the *Britons* a great deal of Honour to allow them to be so expert Husbandmen, who

knew little more than feeding Cattle, and making Cheefe. If we consider *Pliny's* Age, we may well enough attribute this Improvement to their *Roman* Masters. The *Britons* hardly searched into the Bowels of the Earth for Compost, who made so little of its Surface.

As to these Caverns being always in Chalk, they could be no where else. Had the Earth been loose, the natural Pillars which were left in the cutting, would not have been a Support, but a Frame of Timber would have been wanting.

I should rather incline to the Account of *Tacitus* mentioned also by *Camden*, upon those of *Fever-sham*: That they were made as Store-houses for their Corn; and, perhaps, for their Cheefe. The Narrowness of the Mouth was the more easily kept stopt, which (saith he) was done with Dung, and so the Warmth was kept in. A farther Convenience he observes in them, that their Magazines were kept private; and, upon a Descent of Pirates or Plunderers, their Treasure could neither be destroyed nor carried away.

It is not improbable that the *Britons* did make this secondary Use of the Chalk, improving their Lands with it. They must throw it out somewhere, and they found where it lay it enrich'd the Soil, which induc'd them to continue the Practice.

The Rock of *Nottingham*, undermined, was a more lasting and secure Store-Room than Chalk Pits. In that, if the Enemy knew of the Magazine they could not come at it, and they had the Benefit of the *Trent* for laying in what they wanted out of the Country, or from the Sea-Ports.

Farther, here was a Convenience of lodging a larger Garrison than ordinary, who at all Times of the Year were well accommodated, and ready to sally and anony the Besiegers.

We find a Contrivance of the same kind at *Colchester*, which hath been mentioned upon *Essex*. The Vaults there, though never used, as appears from the Sand remaining upon which the Arch was turned, must be made for Store-Rooms. How antient is the Foundation of that Building no-body guesses at, but if we look at the *Roman* Bricks in it, and in the Town Wall, and indeed in all the inside Work of the Churches and old Buildings of that Town, we may conclude there are as many as ten Counties elsewhere afford. The Rubbish of *Verulam* contains many Bricks, but not intire; and the History of the Abbey accounts for their Removal to build the Abbey Church, in which great Numbers of them yet are seen.

Nottingham's being out of the Line of the *Fosse*, and yet very near it, must be the Reason why it was no Station. They would not break in upon the Direction of the *Fosse*, which is maintain'd from Sea to Sea; and they had no occasion for a Garrison here upon the *Trent*, having *Newark* and *Littlebrough* below; *Margidunum* on the South-East; the Wild of *Shirewood* on the North; the craggy Defences of *Derbyshire*, and the *Peak* on the West.





A NEW
SURVEY
OF
ENGLAND.

RUTLANDSHIRE,



IN the Roman Division of Britain, was possessed by the *Coritæni*. In the *Heptarchy*, it was in the Kingdom of *Mercia*. Its present Name was given by the *Saxons*. The Etymologists have not been successful in deriving it. Mr. *Camden* would bring it from *Roet* and *Rud*, as if *Red-land*, from the Colour of the Soil, which tinges the Sheeps Wooll. He instances in other Names taken up from the Colour, as the *Red Sea*, and *Rutlan Castle* in *Wales*, built upon the *Red Promontory*. This will not be allowed him, that the Earth is Red, or hath this Effect upon the Fleeces.

Mr. *Wright*, who hath wrote particularly upon this County, would have it *Rotelandia quasi Rotunda-*

Rotunda-landia. Neither will this be allowed by the Right Reverend Annotator, because it would be making the Saxons give a Piece of a *Latin* Name, which they never did : And because the Form of the County was otherwise, when it first received the Name ; though Addition from *Northamptonshire*, hath, at present, brought it to a sort of Roundness, or imperfect Oval.

The *Saxon* Language will bear a more apt Signification of the Name than either of these. The Word *Rott* is translated *Hilaris*, *Merry*, *Pleasant* ; *Rotnesse* is *Chearfulness*. Thus as the Country consists of fruitful Lands, of pleasant and agreeable Situations, it may justly be called a cheerful Place, because it makes its Inhabitants so ; thus *Lætæ Segetes*, and *Arabia Felix*. And thus *Rutlan* Castle in *Wales* may be denominated from the Beauty of its standing upon the Promontory.

If we look at the Seats of the Nobility in this County, which consists of fruitful Inclosures, and pleasant Champain, we shall find the *Dulcedo Loci* superior to many others.

On the West and North-West lies *Leicestershire*, on the North and North-East *Lincolnshire*, on the South and South-East *Northamptonshire*, from which it is divided by the River *Welland*. The Roman Military Way from *Chesterton* in *Huntingdonshire*, leads, as has been said, through *Northamptonshire* to *Stamford*, and enters this County between that Town of *Brigg Casterton*. From thence it goes forward to *Grantham*, holding up its Crest for some Miles from the Earl of *Gainsborough's* Park. Here the *Agger* seems to have been for Direction, as well as for a Causeway ; for in the Middle it is too narrow to travel upon, the Reason it hath not been worn down.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding which, there is no Proof of a Station either at *Brigg Casterton*, or *Market Overton*. The Name and the Military Way are the only Inducement. Mr. *Camden* is pleased with the Sound of the River *Gwash*, or *Wash*, upon which it stands, finding some Resemblance to *Causennæ*, or *Gausennæ*. He is inclined to think *Kesteven* derived from *Causennæ*; but if it were, that by no means proves it *Brigg Casterton*.

If one would make as free with the *Gwash*, one might fancy the first part of the Name to be the *Brigg* over *Gwash*, only the next Syllable before (*ton*) would be hard to digest. Farther, we observe, there are two *Castertons*, the other called *Little*, lying upon the other Side the River, to the North-East, and about the same Distance from *Stamford*.

Dr. *Stukeley* saith of the Place, “ *Brigg Casterton* happen’d most convenient for a Station, being ten Miles from the last, or *Durobrivis*, but the *Itinerary* mentions not its Name; for the Distances between them, and likewise to *Lincoln*, impugn Mr. *Camden*, and such as place *Causennis* here. However, it was fenced about with a deep Moat on two Sides, the River supplying its Use on the other two.— I saw many Coins that are found here. And one Pasture is called *Castle Close*; at the Corner they say, the Foundation of a Wall was dug up there.”

This Place lying upon the Military Way, might be the *Villa* of some *Roman*, or some *Briton*, who by Marriage, or otherwise, was allied to the *Romans*. And he might have a strong fortified House, or Castle here, for the Benefit of the River, and the Lands on the Side of it. But it would be very strange, that *Roman* Prudence should pass over the Hill just North of *Stamford*,

so well adapted for *Exploratores*, and plant themselves in a Bottom with so slight a Defence as that shallow Stream affords.

Dr. Gale is of Opinion this is *Roman*, but would have it *Durobrivis*, that it might better answer to *Godmanchester*, and *Nottingham*, which has been already examined.

Brigg, the first part of the Name, is *Saxon*. The other may refer to a fortified House here, or Castle; or to a Camp or Fortification upon the Hill above *Stamford*. Our Histories of the *Saxon* Times expressly say, the *Danes* had, upon the Hill North of the Town, a Fortification against the *Saxons*, who possessed the South-Side. *Florence of Worcester*, upon the Year 919, saith, *Edvardus invictissimus senior cum exercitu Stamfordam profectus est firmamque in australi plagâ amnis Welland arcem munivit, & non solum Danos qui in septentrionali plagâ ejusdem amnis arcem tenebant sed & omnes qui ad illam pertinebant in deditionem accepit.*

The Northern Hill is higher, and better defended by Nature; whatever Works there were on either, are intirely razed, the Materials (for *Arx* supposes some) might be employed afterwards in building the Town of *Stamford*. And this *Brigg* might have its Name from leading to the *Cæster*, or *Castrum* of the *Danes*, or being built out of its Materials.

Whether *Stamford* had its Name from a stony Ford over the *Welland*, as was the Custom of the *Romans* to make, or from the *Danish*, or *Edward* the Elder's Fort, being built with Stone, nothing shews. We have it written *Stanfort* in the Time of the *Barons Wars*, in the Instrument that *Robert Fitzwalter*, and other great Men, sent to their Associates at *London*, to put off the Tournament appointed here, to another Time and Place. And

it is written by *Hoveden Stanford*, where he tells us of *Richard I.* appointing all Cloth to be of two Yards Breadth within the Lifts, that should be sold after the Fair of *Stanford*, in *Mid-lent*. So he writes it again in his Account of the Riot some Tradesmen of *London* were guilty of at this Fair, for which their Leader, *William with the Beard*, and eight more of his Companions, were hanged.

That Coins do not always prove Places to be *Roman Towns* or *Stations*, will be admitted, if we look but at the Ground where frequently they are found. They are chiefly in and about their Towns, and seldom in a Camp. They are sometimes where no Mortal can imagine a Settlement or Camp would have been made. It is most probable they were of *British* hiding, whose current Money they were, after the *Romans* left them exposed to *Picts* and *Saxons*.

And, perhaps, some of them were buried as Rarities and Reliques, which the Owner hoped in peaceable Times to recover. These he might set a greater than the real Value upon. By the turning up some of their Pots, Crocks, Dishes, and Saucers of Earth lying deep in Gravel, one must imagine they esteemed them for something more than their Use, or they had not been so careful of them. A Man that went into Battel, or was forced to fly his Country to save his Life from Northern Plunderers, had something else to think of, than concealing a little Earthen Ware, and some other such Trifles as *Lacrymatories*, *Fibulæ*, *Urns*, and the like, if there were not some imaginary Value put upon them. The Treasure of this kind dug out of a Bed of Gravel, near *Baldock* in *Hertfordshire*, about seven Years ago, lay deep. And so did those Curiosities found at *Trumpington* in *Cambridgeshire*, some time before. Of the latter is a Tea-pot of red Earth, which holds half a Pint,
and

and half a dozen Saucers in Possession of Dr. *Andrews* of the *Commons*.

This Evidence of Coins is again found at *Market Overton* in this County, which proves too much. To these the Right Reverend Annotator joins the high Situation, being next to that of *Burleigh* and *Cole Overton*. This had been a Station at first of *Camden's*, from the Similitude of *Market* to *Margidunum*. He would have mended the Writing to *Magedoverton*. In his second Edition it is deserted by him. The Annotations insist upon the *Marga*, the Limestone of this Country, to corroborate the Opinion; and suppose the Addition of *Marga* or *Market* given before the Place obtain'd that Privilege of *Edward II.* by Interest of the Lord *Baddlesmere*: And Posterity finding something prefixed that sounded like *Market*, framed the Name to their own Fancies.

Mr. *Baxter* gives his Voice to confirm, and makes *Maerg*, *Merg*, and *Marg*, *Medulla Terræ*.

If the *Saxons* had found this Place called *Margidun*, they might be supposed to have done, as in other Places, changed it to *Overton*, signifying the higher or upper Town, and that the *Marge* was left to distinguish it from *Cole-Overton*.

We know *Market* is a common Addition to distinguish one Town from another, as frequent as *Cheping*, which means the same. And though *Edward II.* granted a Market here, there might have been one more antient, perhaps, before *Okeham*.

I should not go about to invalidate this Evidence, but in justice to the true *Margidunum Willoughby*, which hath Distance and a Military Way, besides *Marga*, to support it. The Distance, with respect to other Stations, is in the Annotations thus, *From Caufennæ, i. e. Brigg Casterton six Miles; from Verometum, i. e. Burgh Hill, seven Miles; and from*

from *Ad Pontem*, i. e. Great Paunton, seven Miles.

According to the *Itinerary Vernometum* should be distant from *Margidunum* thirteen Miles. But if the Distance were exact, there is no Proof that *Vernometum* is *Burgh Hill*.

As to the Distance *Margidunum* should be from *Causennæ*, we don't find it fixed in the *Itinerary*. But if *Causennæ* be *Brough-hill* in the North of *Lincolnshire*, and *Margidunum* is *Willoughby* on the South Border of *Nottinghamshire*, as, I hope, has been proved, the Distance, instead of six Miles, must be, by the nearest Way, almost fifty.

That the Station *Ad Pontem* cannot be *Paunton*, hath been already urged.

Neither is there any Fortification pretended at *Market Overton*.

The Lands of this County have been a Royal Possession for a great while. The *Confessor*, according to *Camden*, settled them upon his Consort *Edith*, for Life, Remainder to the Church of *Westminster*. But the *Conqueror*, his pretended Heir, never paid the Legacy. Some part he kept himself, and divided the rest amongst his *Normans*. King *John* settled the County of *Rutland* upon his Queen *Isabel*, and the Sheriff accounted for the Profits.

This fruitful Spot had but a little Share in the Abbey-Lands. The Priory of *Broke* was a Cell to *Kenilworth* in *Warwickshire*, and at the Suppression valued at *Lib. 40*. The Founders were ——— *De Novoburgo* and *Walchelinus de Ferrariis*.

An Hospital was founded at *Okeham*, by *William Dalby de Exton*, valued at *l. 12. 12. 11*.

A Recapitulation of the Stations of twelve Counties.

K E N T.

Miles

| | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|--------|
| <i>Antoni</i> | <i>Londinio</i> | <i>London</i> | |
| | <i>Noviomago</i> | <i>Holwood Hill</i> | — 10 |
| <i>Iter</i> | <i>Vagniacis</i> | <i>Rochester</i> | ——— 18 |
| 2. | <i>Durobrovis</i> | <i>Maidstone</i> | ——— 09 |
| | <i>Durolevo</i> | <i>Ashford</i> | —— 16 |
| | <i>Duroverno</i> | <i>Canterbury</i> | —— 12 |
| | <i>Ad Portum Ritupis</i> | <i>Richburrrough</i> | — 12 |
| <i>Iter</i> | <i>Duroverno</i> | <i>Canterbury</i> | |
| 3. | <i>Ad Portum Dubris</i> | <i>Dover</i> | ——— 14 |
| <i>Iter</i> | <i>Duroverno</i> | <i>Canterbury</i> | —— |
| 4. | <i>Ad Portum Lemanis</i> | <i>Lyme</i> | ——— 16 |
| Besides the Ports. | | | |

S U S S E X Hath only Ports.

S U R R Y.

| | | | |
|-------------|------------------|-------------------|--------|
| <i>Iter</i> | <i>A Calleuâ</i> | <i>Attrebatum</i> | |
| 7. | <i>Pontibus</i> | <i>Darking</i> | ——— 22 |
| | <i>Londinio</i> | <i>London</i> | ——— 22 |

M I D D L E S E X.

| | | | |
|-------------|--------------------|-----------------------|------|
| <i>Iter</i> | <i>A Verolamio</i> | | |
| 2. | <i>Sulloniacis</i> | <i>Brockley Hills</i> | — 09 |

E S S E X.

| | | | |
|-------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|--------|
| <i>Iter</i> | <i>A Camuloduno</i> | | |
| 9. | <i>Canonio</i> | <i>Littlebury Hill</i> | --- 09 |
| | <i>A Colonia sive Camuloduno</i> | | |
| <i>Iter</i> | <i>Villa Faustini</i> | <i>Maldon</i> | ——— 35 |
| 5. | <i>Icianos</i> | <i>Colchester</i> | ——— 18 |

SUFFOLK.

S U F F O L K.

| | | |
|------|--------------------|------------------------------|
| | <i>A Sitomago</i> | |
| Iter | <i>Cambretonio</i> | <i>Icklingham</i> — 22 |
| 9. | <i>Ad Ansam</i> | <i>Tallow Wratting</i> -- 15 |

N O R F O L K.

| | | |
|------|-----------------------|---|
| Iter | <i>Venta Icenorum</i> | <i>Brancafter</i> — |
| 9. | <i>Sitomago</i> | <i>New Bokenham</i> --- 31 |
| | <i>Cambretonio</i> | <i>Icklingham</i> — 22 in <i>Suffolk</i> |

C A M B R I D G E S H I R E.

| | | |
|------|-------------------|----------------------|
| Iter | <i>Ab Icianis</i> | |
| 5. | <i>Camborico</i> | <i>Hogmagog</i> — 35 |

H U N T I N G D O N S H I R E.

| | | |
|------|--------------------|------------------------|
| Iter | <i>A Camborico</i> | |
| 5. | <i>Duroliponte</i> | <i>Chesterton</i> — 25 |

L I N C O L N S H I R E.

| | | |
|------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| Iter | <i>A Duroliponte</i> | |
| 5. | <i>Durobrivis</i> | <i>Tattershal</i> — 35 |
| | <i>Causennis</i> | <i>Brough Hill</i> — 30 |
| | <i>Lindo</i> | <i>Lincoln</i> — 26 |
| | <i>Segeloci</i> | <i>Ancaster</i> — 14 |

N O T T I N G H A M S H I R E.

| | | |
|------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| Iter | <i>A Segeloco</i> | |
| 5. | <i>Danum</i> | <i>Littlebrough</i> — 21 |
| | <i>A Lindo</i> | |
| | <i>Crococolana</i> | <i>Newark</i> — 12 |
| Iter | <i>Ad Pontem</i> | <i>Bridgford</i> — 07 |
| 6. | <i>Margiduno</i> | <i>Willoughby</i> — 07 |

RUTLANDSHIRE Hath no Station.

The *Itinerary* is printed in the first Part upon Kent, *Sussex* and *Surrey*.

The End of the FOURTH PART.

A N E W
S U R V E Y
O F
E N G L A N D.

W H E R E I N

The Defects of CAMDEN are supplied, and the
Errors of his Followers remarked :

The Opinions of our ANTIQUARIES are
compared :

The *Roman* MILITARY WAYS traced ;

And The STATIONS settled according to the
ITINERARY, without altering the *Figures*.

With some NATURAL HISTORY of each County.

By N. SALMON, LL. B.

P A R T V.

Comprehending LEICESTERSHIRE, NORTHAMP-
TONSHIRE, and BEDFORDSHIRE.

To which is added,

An Examination of the BRITISH COINS produced
in CAMDEN's *Britannia* ; with the Foundation of
a Conjecture, that they are not *British*, but brought
in by the *Romans* and the *Saxons*.

Addressed to Sir ROBERT ABDY.

Ὁν βεβαίως καλέσαι θεοὶ ἄνδρες ὃ τε πάντες
Ἀιγῶν. —

H O M.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. ROBERTS, in *Warwick-Lane*, and J. LEAKE,
Bookseller at *Bath*. 1729. (Price 1 s. 6 d.)

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A NEW
SURVEY
OF
ENGLAND.

LEICESTERSHIRE,



ACCORDING to the *Roman* Division, was possessed by the *Coritani*. During the *Saxon* Heptarchy it was a Part of the Kingdom of *Mercia*. It hath on the North *Derbys*shire and *Nottingham*shire, and is broadest

from *Ashby de la Zouch* to *Belvoir* Castle. On the East are *Lincoln*shire and *Rutland*: On the South is *Northampton*shire: On the West the Counties of *Stafford* and *Warwick*; from the latter of which it is divided by the *Street Road*, commonly called, but erroneously, I presume, *Watling-Street*.

This *Champion Country* is well watered with little Streams upon its Borders, but chiefly by the *Scare* which runs through the Middle of it from

South to North, and falls into the *Trent* about five Miles from *Nottingham*. A great Number of Brooks from the Eastern Part of the Country are received by the *Soare* near *Mount Sorrel*.

This Stream is by Dr. Gale understood the *Coguvensuron* of *Ravennas*, in his List of some *British* Rivers; in the *Vatican* Copy written *Coguvensuron*.

The Name of this Shire is from its principal Town *Leicester*. This hath been written *Lecestria* and *Legeocester*, from whence the present is a Contraction. Some would derive it from *Leir* a *British* King, whose Name has not been heard of but for Etymology Sake. Others from the River *Leire*, which is thought older than the Name of *Soare*, for the same Stream. This Hit is generally attributed to Mr. Somner, but there wants Proof the River ever went by that Name.

Had the Name been taken from a *British* Prince, we might expect to find it in the *Roman* Appellation, the Termination only latinized. But that hath no Resemblance to *Ratæ*, which 'tis generally thought to be no more than to *Vernometum*, which I hope to prove it.

The Word seems intirely *Saxon*, the *Ceaſter* expreſſing it to have been a *Roman* Place, and the other ſignifying a fine ſhining Town: *Leget* with the *Saxons* being interpreted Bright. And ſo doubtleſs it was when the *Romans* left it. And *Vernometum*, as it hath been interpreted, carries as much in it.

The Arguments by which I would prove it *Vernometum*, have been briefly mentioned upon *Nottinghamſhire*. That it hath been a *Roman* Station no-body queſtions; all the Diſpute will be whether *Ratæ* or not. There are yet viſible ſome [Foundations and Remains of *Roman* Building, and many of their Materials put to modern Uſe. Much more of

of these we may presume were to be seen before the Destruction of these Monuments by *Henry II.* upon the Rebellion of *Robert Earl of Leicester.*

Mr. Camden pitched upon this Place for *Ratae*, in which every Author has followed him. But if we look into the Reasons why all of them have done so, they amount to no more than that it hath been a *Roman City.*

If we examine into the preceding and subsequent Stations, I presume the Evidence will fall off. *Mr. Camden*, after having pronounced *Leicester Ratae*, and *Vernometum Burrow-Hill*, professes himself run a-ground. He gazes about him, as he says, but knows not which way to steer.

He found *Leicester Roman*, and found it upon the *Fosse*, and concluded the *Fosse* went on to *Lincoln*, from a Hint he had from *Ranulphus Cestrensis*. Being once out of the Way he could never recover it. Nor hath any-body since him recovered it with any Degree of Satisfaction to their Readers.

The *Fosse* goes on direct from Sea to Sea. We dont find the least *Diverticulum* from it to take in a Station, as may be observed upon the *Watling-Street*, which hath its Name, I conceive, from winding. Here all that make *Vernometum Burrow-Hill*, are content to take a Stride to the East, then another to the West, to come on to the Military Way again.

And if this were allowed, neither will the Distance of thirteen Miles from *Leicester* answer.

Mr. Burton gives no Opinion upon this Place. The Reason is plain, he was not satisfied with the current Doctrine, nor knew what to substitute instead of *Burrow*. *Dr. Gale* confesses himself not resolved, and proposes *Charnley* for *Vernometum*, as having as good Pretence of Distance as *Burrow*.

There is no Reason to dispute the Works of *Burrow*; both the Name and Remains will entitle it to be *Roman*, but by no means *Vernometum*. It is from strong Inclination that the Scite of a Temple hath been found at this Place. The Interpretation of *Vernometum* must be such, and therefore it must be found. If *Leicester* be admitted to put in its Claim, we shall find the Remains answer better, and the Place called *Holy Bones* agrees with the Description.

Here are the Bones of Oxen found in abundance, which are thought to have been sacrificed. The Foundation also of some considerable Building is yet to be seen. It hath been broken up in great part, and been employed amongst other Materials, in the Foundation of the neighbouring Houses, and the Church of *St. Nicolas*, as appears from the *Roman* Bricks there. These we may suppose to have been removed more than once, as often as the Church or Houses wanted rebuilding: And then, being the strongest and worst-looking Part of their Materials, they are generally used at the Bottom, or for inside Work, as may be observed at *Colchester*.

By Tradition this hath the Name of the Temple of *Janus*. *Dr. Stukely* hath given us a Delineation of it in his *Iter Curiosum*. The Annotations upon *Camden* say of *Burrow*, his *Vernometum*; “The Interpretation of a great Temple
“seems to answer the State of the Place exceed-
“ing well; for there do not so much appear the
“Marks of a Town demolished (which *Mr. Camden* intimates) as some particular great Building;
“and rather a Temple than any other, to which
“the several adjacent Colonies might conveniently
“resort.”

This of *Burrow* seems designed for *Castra Exploratorum*, and I believe was used as such, from its
Neighbour-

Neighbourhood to *Leicester*, where the Garrison in Winter might be quartered. But when the *Itinerary* was made, it may have been disused for some Time, as many other Camps we find, of which there was, when they were secure, no Use or Necessity.

If we look for a Temple, it should be in a City rather than a Camp, where the greatest Number of People are to attend the Service. This rising Ground in the Middle of the *Arca* of a Camp is frequently observed designed for the *Prætorium*, or Head-Quarters, or for the Commander to speak to his Officers.

Camden when he makes *Vernometum Burrow*, lets us into the Meaning of the Name. How much better the Description suits the Remains of *Leicester*, let the Unprejudiced judge. “ One
“ may conjecture from the Name, that some
“ great Temple of the Heathen Gods hath for-
“ merly stood in this Place. For in the antient
“ Language of the *Gauls*, which was the same
“ with that of the *Britons*, *Vernometum* signifies a
“ great and spacious Temple, as *Venantius For-*
“ *tunatus* plainly tells us of *Vernometum*, a Town
“ in *France*, in these Verses of his first Book of
“ Poems :

*Nomine Vernometum voluit vocitare vetustas,
Quod quasi Fanum ingens Gallica lingua sonat.*

I dont find our Author observing the Place called *Holy Bones*, which, perhaps, never came to his Knowledge. That indeed would do nothing to make *Leicester Rataë*, no more than the Temple of *Janus*, or any other Roman Temple. But admitting it Roman, let us see its Pretence to *Vernometum*, besides the Interpretation of the Name which is allowed by our Opposers.

It answers then to the *Itinerary*, if we begin at *Lincoln* upon the eighth Journey.

| | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Lindo</i> | <i>Lincoln</i> | <i>Millia passuum</i> |
| <i>Crococolana</i> | <i>Newark</i> | 14 |
| <i>Margiduno</i> | <i>Willoughby</i> | 14 |
| <i>Vernometo</i> | <i>Leicester</i> | 12 |
| <i>Ratis</i> | <i>Brinklow</i> | 12 |

Here is the Line of the *Fosse* unbroken and undeserted, from *Salfleet* upon the North-East Coast of *Lincolnshire*, through that County, *Nottinghamshire*, *Leicestershire*, into that Part of *Warwickshire* where it is visible and undisputed, and called by its proper Name, and points to its *Terminus* in *Dorsetshire*.

Had Mr. *Camden* began at the *Lincolnshire Terminus*, he would never have made his *Diverticulum* to *Burrow*, because following his Line, and observing *Antonine's* Distances, would have led him to *Brinklow* of course. That which deceived him and many others since, I humbly conceive, was the Name of Street, which the Road from *Atherston* to *Darventry* had acquired. This grand Road making an Intersection of the *Fosse* at *Highcross*, and the Tradition of Urns and Coins found near it, gave him no room to dispute the Place being *Bennones*, that it might a little correspond with *Ratæ*.

I must exceed the Limits of *Leicestershire*, in order to prove *Leicester Vernometum*. I have brought the *Fosse* from *Salfleet* to *Highcross*, and must step into *Warwickshire* before my Time, to shew that *Brinklow*, both in Remains and Distance, answers to *Vernometum*. The Distance is of twelve Miles, of which *Highcross* wants four. The Remains of the Camp and Fort are there visible. It stands upon the *Fosse*, and had some *Saxon*
Honours

Honours paid to it, which are generally reputed owing to what the *Romans* left.

As to this Street upon which *Highbroofs* stands, I own it to be a *Roman* vicinal Way, but deny it to be the *Watling*. The *Watling-Street* I understand to be that upon which the Stations of the second Journey are found. And they cannot be found here. As the Military Way led from *London* to *York*, by *Westchester*, we must be sure it was not direct. As there are so many more Miles in that second Journey, than would reach from one *Terminus* to the other; we may be as sure they made their Digressions to take in those Stations, which for Convenience of Situation, and command of the Country, lay on the Right or Left.

We may observe the Way which the fifth Journey leads us from *London* to *Colchester*, amounts to above a hundred Miles, whereas the direct would not be half the Number. Yet we may presume there lay Vicinal Ways from *London* to *Colchester*, upon which Business might be done, or an Army march. And these Vicinal Ways are yet in some Places to be seen, and they are particularly mentioned as Mounds and Borders in the old Perambulations of the Forest of *Essex*.

Thus, though the *Watling-Street* had a Course from *Daventry* to the Neighbourhood of *Atherston*, reckoned in the *Itinerary* at Fifty-seven Miles, the nearest Way would not be half the Number. And we may presume there was one nearer, and we find it at this Day the same by *Highbroofs*, called the *Street*, though not properly the *Watling-Street*.

Upon the Evidence of *Camden*, and all his Followers, this Mistake (if I may take the Freedom to call it so) of the Intersection of the *Fosse* and *Watling-Street* at *Highbroofs*, has been established to Posterity, as far as a handsome Monument and Inscription can do it. Prescription indeed was on
their

their Side ; the Notion had passed from *Camden's* Time to ours, and they were willing to fortify what they took to be Truth, least After-Ages should be ignorant of it. But as supporting Truth was the only Thing these Gentlemen had in View, they will give up their Monument, rather than appear in Defence of Wrong, when it appear such to them.

On each Side is an Inscription ;

*Vicinarum Provinciarum Vervicensis
Scilicet & Leicestrensis ornamenta
Proceres Patriciique auspiciis
Basilii illustrissimi Comitis de
Denbigh hanc columnam statuendam,
Curaverunt in gratam pariter,
Et perpetuam memoriam Jani tandem
A Serenissimâ Annâ clausi.*

A. D. M.DCC.XII.

*Si veterum Romanorum Vestigia
Quæras hic cernas viator. Hic enim
Celeberrimæ illorum viæ militares
Sese mutuo secantes ad extremos usque
Britanniæ limites procurrunt, hic
Stativa sua habuerunt Vennonæ, & ad
Primum abhinc lapidem castra sua
Ad stratam, & ad Fossam tumulum
Claudis quidam cohortis præfectus
Habuisse videtur.*

There is a *Tumulus* near *Highbrook*, called *Cloud-bury Bush*, supposed the Burial Place of one *Claudius*, mentioned in the second Inscription. The Place where the Station is said to have been, is a Mile from *Cleybrook*, which shews no Remains : And Mr. *Camden* confesses — *etiam perire ruinæ*. He mentions *Cleycester*, which the Inhabitants told him

him had been a flourishing City, and had once a Senate of its own. *Cleybrook*, a Mile off, they told him was a Part of it. This *Clycester* being a lucky Name to draw Antiquaries in its Favour, is still talked of, though nothing like it is to be seen, and the Stations may be otherwise accounted for. And here four Miles out of the twelve are wanting, both to *Leicester* and *Atherston*, which should have produced some Scruple. Shewing the true Course of the *Watling-Street* will most effectually set this aside, as I hope to do in its Order.

The Town of *Leicester* had once the Honour of being a Bishop's See, but it was soon brought under that of *Dorchester*, some time before *Sidnacester* was. *Camden* saith of it, " That in the Year 680, when *Sexwulph*, by King *Ethelred's* Order, divided the Kingdom of the *Mercians* into Diocesess, he placed here a Bishop's Seat, and became himself the first Bishop of this See. But after a few Years, the See being translated to another Place, that Dignity determined, and the Reputation of the Town by little and little decayed, till *Edelfleda*, a noble Lady, in the Year 914. repaired and fortified the Place with new Walls. "

Math. Westminster will have *Tota* the first Bishop of *Leicester*, and he hath a Sort of concurrent Testimony of it. He saith, page 270. *Tota in Leycestria primus, & Witta Litchfield mortuo Alwino Litchfeldensi*. We find *Tota* Bishop of *Dorchester* in the Year 737, and *Witta* of *Litchfield* in 733, Successor to *Aldwyn*.

Two other Places of Strength have been remarkable hereabouts, *Mount Sorril* lower upon the River *Soare*, and *Belvoir Castle*, where the Counties of *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, and *Leicester* join. In the turbulent Reign of King *John* these were held out against him. *Belvoir* upon the first Summons

mons was given up to him, such Awe had he struck at that Time into the greatest Part of his Opposers. *William d'Albigny*, who was Lord of *Belvoir*, had garrison'd it, and being summoned to *London* by the Barons, by them was made Governor of *Rocheſter*. He held out this City againſt the King for three Months, and ſhewed himſelf an expert Commander; ſurrendering for want of Proviſions, he, with other great Men of the Beſieged, was ſent Priſoner to *Corſe Caſtle*. The King was about to hang up all the Noblemen and Knights he found there; but was, for prudential Reaſons urged by his Friends, diſſuaded. They told him the War might continue long, and his own Knights would be in Danger of the ſame Treatment. Then he ſatiſfied himſelf with hanging all the common Men, except the Croſsbowmen, theſe perhaps he hoped to bring over to his own Side.

The King upon this Succeſs march'd about *England* to ſummon the Caſtles of the Barons, the *Caſtellans*, or Governors, of which they delivered them generally up, without ſtanding a Siege. He went Northward to *Scotland*, and in his Return took in all but two, one belonging to *Robert de Roos* in *Yorkſhire*, and this of *Mount Sorril*, belonging to the Earl of *Wincheſter*.

Miſerable were theſe Times, when each Party went about burning and deſtroying all that the Adverſary protected. How many innocent People muſt ſuffer, who had no Hand or Intereſt in the Quarrel. The King's Commiſſion to his Caſtellans commanded them, "As they loved their Bodies, "and all that they had, they ſhould deſtroy all "Things that belonged to the Barons, their "Caſtles, Houſes, Towns, Parks, Warrens, "Ponds, Mills, Hort-Yards, &c." The Barons were not behind in Retribution. There was no
Man

Man could escape from one Party or the other, as they got and lost Ground.

None know the Blessings of Peace, but they that have suffered the Miseries of War. War is a comprehensive Word, including all the Train of Evils to which Mankind is subject. Even the most regulated War is Desolation: The best of it but licensed Plunder; when this wild Justice overspreads the Earth, the Inhabitants feel the same as from Famine and Pestilence.

The Life of these unhappy Princes, King *John*, and his elder Brother *Richard*, is not to be thought of without Grief. The Sufferings of the People whose Lot it was to live under them, even at this Distance, gives one Horror. Nor did they pass their Time more to Satisfaction than their Subjects. *Richard* was taken Prisoner in his Return from the Holy War, and the Nation drained to the last Penny for his Ransom. Great Sums had been raised before for his Expedition, the Abbey Lands paying towards it, some by the Name of *Aid*, some for *Carucage*, some by *Seizures*, *Fines*, *Compositions*, and the Sale of the *Crown Lands*. All the Gold and Silver Plate of the Nation went; but the Taxes by which the rest was raised were most burthensome. He had the Mortification to be deserted by the *French*, and to lose the Glory of his Victories, after he had reduced all the Sea-Coast of *Palestine* for the *Christians*. The Duke of *Burgundy*, with the other Subjects of *France*, were commanded home by their King, and *Richard* was forced to give up his great Purpose of besieging *Jerusalem*. And to his Sorrow he heard his Brother *John* was supplanting him at home, and endeavouring to get his Kingdom from him, which put him upon a hasty Return. Not daring to trust his old Confederate the *French*, he passed
Incognito

Incognito by *Vienna*, and there was taken by the Duke of *Austria*, and sold to the Emperor.

What Notion of Honour must these Christian Princes have had, who deserted a brave successful Commander, that had supported the common Cause, and fought the Christian Battles? Is he not made Prisoner by those that should have defended and even ransomed him? How would they have their Names recorded to Posterity, who bartered the Honour of their Birth and Station for Money? For Money obtained by the meanest and most ignoble Methods, such as would have made a little Shopkeeper or Mechanick despised?

There was, perhaps, another as unmanly Ingredient of their ill Will to this Hero, Envy. They could not bear to see themselves excelled; to have the Eyes of *Europe* fixed upon him, who had merited more than them all. Virtue had need be its own Reward, which has so inveterate, so powerful an Enemy as Envy. He had a thorough Knowledge of Mankind, who said,

Virtutem incolumem odimus

Sublatam ex Oculis quærimus invidi.

The last five Years of this valuable Life passed in continual Disputes and Disturbances between King *Richard*, and *Philip* of *France*, in which their Subjects on either Side might say, ———
placetuntur Achivi.

These Fatigues he had Resolution enough to go through, but was sensibly touched with the Behaviour of the King of *France*, his Brother *John*, and the Emperor.

The Ransom was to be Seventy thousand Marks of Silver. After this Agreement *John* and *Philip* send to the Emperor their Proposals to set it aside. *John* offered Thirty thousand Marks to have

have his Brother kept Prisoner till *Michaelmas*; *Philip* on the same Condition offered Fifty thousand; or they would give the Emperor a Thousand Pounds a Month, as long as he should keep him Prisoner; or *John* would give Fifty thousand Marks, and *Philip* One hundred thousand to have him delivered Prisoner into their Hands, at least that he should keep him one Year.

The Emperor was as willing to receive as they to give. And had it not been for the Honour of the Bishops of *Germany* and the Nobility who had been *Fidejussors* to the Emperor, upon the Agreement, he had run from it. They bravely insisted upon the King's Release, and reproved him, saith the Historian, *Quia ita impudenter a pacto suo resilire volebat.*

This unfortunate Prince may be said at last to die an untimely Death, not honourably in the Field of Battle. It was indeed by a Wound in his Arm, received in the Field from an Arrow out of a Cross-Bow. The *Vicecomes* of *Limosin* had found a Quantity of Gold in his own Ground, great Part of which he sent to the King; but the King demanded the whole, and supposing the rest to be secured in his Castle, besieged it, and received the Shot by which he died. 'Tis remarkable, that in bequeathing his Treasure, when he gives his Jewels to his Nephew *Otho* King of *Almain*, they are called *Omnia Baubella sua.*

King *John's* Life is set forth in History as monstrous. His Crimes, and the Punishment of them are remarkable. Admitting that *Mathew Paris*, and some of the Monks that did not love him, have aggravated Matters, and sometimes set him forth in the worst Light, there is indeed no Light in which he can appear well. His Rebellion and Murder with which he is charged, make his Story very black,

black, besides the Miseries and Desolation he brought upon his Subjects.

Here was at least Intention of Parricide in taking Part with the *French*, and his Brother *Richard*, against his own Father. War can't be carried on without killing, nor without Intention to kill the Opposer.

Here was manifest Treason and Treachery, and we may say, Intention of Parricide, in bribing the Emperor against *Richard*, who was his Brother and his King; to say nothing of his doing Homage to the King of *France* for *Normandy*, and claiming the Crown of *England*, under pretence his Brother *Richard* was dead.

How much short of Parricide was the killing his Nephew *Arthur* with his own Hand, as the *Norman Chronicle* asserts? He was Son to his elder Brother *Geoffrey*, and therefore Heir to the Crown. He was taken Prisoner in the Castle of *Mirabell* in *Normandy*. He had put himself under the Protection of the *French*, and served in that King's Army. When his Uncle *John* took him, according to *Mathew Paris*, he gave him fair Words and Promises of Honours, if he would quit the King of *France*, and stick to him as his Lord and Uncle. The Nephew disdained the Offer, demanded the Kingdom of *England*, and all his Uncle *Richard* died possessed of, as his Right of Inheritance, and swore he never should have Peace till he had restored it. Upon this Duke *Arthur* was sent close Prisoner to *Rouen*, and never heard of more.

This boisterous Man, at War with the *French*, the Pope, and his own Subjects, saw himself stript of almost all his foreign Dominions. He gave himself up to such a Course of Life, as made People reckon him bewitched, saith *Paris*: *Ita quod ab omnibus diceretur ipsum fore sortilegiis & maleficiis infatuatum.* The Conclusion of his Life

was

was but like a Madman, running from Place to Place with a Firebrand in his Hand, to destroy and consume the Possessions of his Subjects. He was brought so low he durst not face his Barons in the Field, but went about like a Wanderer the last two Months of his Life, to get out of his Enemies Power, and to find something of theirs to lay waste and destroy. The Fever of which he died, is said to have affected his Nerves through Grief and Vexation. The Loss of his Treasure and Equipage, was the concluding Stroke, which he survived not above five Days.

What is most remarkable in the Misfortunes of *Richard* and *John*, was their Father's cursing them before his Death. Their Rebellion and ill Treatment had provoked him, and he continued that stern Resentment to the last. One may imagine him mortified to the last Degree, beaten by the *French*, who insulted him so far, as to make their own Terms, one of which was a Condition unheard-of; "That all the Barons of the King of *England* shall swear, That if the King of *England* keeps not this Agreement, they will assist the King of *France* and Earl *Richard* against him."

In this lowest State he procured a List of all that had deserted him, and adhered to the King of *France*, and Earl *Richard*. The first Name was his Son *John*. Upon this he cursed the Day in which he was born, gave God's Curse and his own to his Sons, which he never would release, though moved to it by the Persuasion and Admonition of his Bishops and Religious Men.

It was their pious Desire he should take a decent Leave of the World, but his Resentment was superior. This leads one into an Inquiry of what Force these Curses are. In Effect, we find this fulfilled notoriously. And it had been a received Notion, that there is some Validity in them.

A a

Paternal

Paternal Authority has in all Ages been revered, and a Contempt of it esteemed impious and inhuman. The Heroes of the Poets are always adorned with this Accomplishment. It was the dutiful Behaviour of *Æneas* to his Father, that entitled him to the Protection he met with.

*Eja age chare pater cervici imponere nostræ,
Ipse subibo humeris, nec me labor iste gravabit,
Quo res cunque cadunt unum & commune periculum,
Una salus ambobus erit ———* Virg.

The natural Right Parents have to their Childrens Obedience, was never so ill guarded, but it was visible to the World in the Punishment of the Rebellious. Though every Instance of so flagrant a Crime, had not Justice at the Heels of it, there were yet Proofs enough in the general, that what Nature and Reason had dictated, Providence was observed to assert.

If we resolve the Blessing and Cursing of Parents, into no more than a Wish or Desire that Good or Ill may befall their Children, according to their Behaviour, even this deserves their Regard. It is but asking for that which the Good and Dutiful had Reason to expect, the Wicked and Rebellious to fear. It is but commemorating and presenting the Virtues of one Sort for Reward; protesting against the unnatural Deportment of the other, and delivering them up to Punishment.

By the Order of Nature, it is in the Power of Parents to bring Good or Ill upon their Posterity. These inherit from the Virtues of their Parents, a sound and robust Habit of Body; from their Vices, Weakness and Disease. This is a natural Blessing or Curse. That which was Providential, hath been even by Pagans observed to follow upon Undutifulness, the greatest of Impiety.

Grotius in his Notes upon the *Prolegomena* to his *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, gives us Instances from the Pagan, as well as other Doctors, of the Reverence and Esteem of Parental Authority.

Dii quidem sunt Parentes : Θεοὶ ἐπίγαιοι ; Hierocli ad aureum carmen Dii Terrestres : Philoni ad Decalogum Ἐμφανῆς Θεοὶ μιμέμενοι τὸν ἀγέννητον ἐν τῷ ζωπλασεῖν. Secunda post Deum Fœderatio ; Hieronymo Epist. 92. Parentes Deorum simulacra Platoni de Legibus XI. Honos Parentibus ut Diis debetur, pronuntiante Aristotele Nicomachæorum IX. cap. XI.

Plautus gives us the Sense of the Moralists of his Time, in his *Sticho*,

*Gratiam a patre si petimus, spero ab eo impetrassere :
Adversari sine dedecore & scelere summo haud possumus.*

These exalted Notions might be learned from meer Nature by a civilized People. The Right of Parents seems to have the first Possession, and highest Place, in the Minds of Men that are any thing better than Savages. Though Justice to all the World, and doing as we would be done by, comes in with an early Claim, this from an innate Awe and Gratitude, is the first Point of Duty Nature instructs them to. And this is fortified by the daily Instances they have of the Punishment of the Rebellious, or those which have been handed down from the Observation of their Ancestors.

The absolute Dominion Parents had over their Children before they became *sui juris*, was general, as we find in *Grotius*, lib. 2. cap. 2. *Potest tamen naturaliter & ubi lex civilis non impedit Pater filium oppignorare, & si necesse sit etiam vendere, ubi alia ratio eum alendi non suppetit : quod ex veteri Thebanorum lege (quam libro secundo recitat Ælianus) in populos alios videtur fluxisse ; ipsa autem lex Thebana*

^a *Phœnicibus ac porro ab Hebræis venisse ; quam ipsam obtinuisse & apud Phrygas docet Apollonius Epistolâ ad Domitianum.*

In the Notes this follows ; *Jornandes historia Gothica: Haud enim secus Parentes faciunt salutem suorum pignorum providentes, satius deliberant ingenuitatem perire quam vitam, dum misericorditer alendus quis venditur quam moriturus servatur.*

The Blessings and Curses we meet with in Sacred History during the Patriarchal State, were Authoritative beyond what After-ages knew. When the Parent was both Priest and King, he had so many more Claims to Obedience and Respect. And the Contempt of so extensive a Jurisdiction called for a severer Punishment.

It is possible King *Henry II.* claimed the whole Patriarchal Power of cursing his Sons. It is possible the Founders of Monasteries, who loaded their Posterity with such terrible *Anathemas*, upon desecrating what had been devoted, stretched their Power beyond that of a Parent, or a Possessor of the Lands. Nor is it certain what their Posterity have met with, owes its Force to their Curses.

Admitting it does not, the Case is no better. The ill Success then cannot be attributed to the Zeal of a superstitious Founder, or a provoked Parent ; to the political Thunder of the *Vatican*, or the splenetick Groans of Weakness and Disease : Or rather to the prepossessed and fanciful Observer, who, from an Opinion of the Validity of these Curses, makes a common Calamity the Effect of them.

Indeed, if the Calamity be but common, all that is built upon it falls to the Ground. They that have examined it have thought it more than common. A Man that thinks it no more than common, need not fear to examine. If he finds,
upon

upon Enquiry, Reason to alter his Opinion, he alters it but for Truth. And if he be afraid of coming at that Truth, or stifles it when he has found it, that Truth may come at him.

This I confess too much a Digression, yet not out of a Traveller's Way, who must think of something as he passes, or with *Dryden's Cimon*,

Whistle as he walks for want of Thought.

These Fields of Battle our Road carries us thro' which have been fatal to the Oppressors of Mankind: These Monuments of Piety and Devotion; or, if the Name of Dotage and Superstition suits them better, must present to us some Images we may make a good use of.

At the worst, if well-designing People, or People imposed upon, have bestowed so great a Part of their Substance to be censured by Posterity, let those that censure them employ their own better.

The Field near *Bosworth* is never to be forgot, where *Richard III.* met his Fate, in a Battle with the Earl of *Richmond*. The Artificial Mount there, upon which the Earl stood to harangue his Army, that is, his Officers and Great Men, for 'twas not possible *Stentor* should have been heard by them all, puts one in Mind of another Use of Barrows so common in this Island, which was, perhaps, a Continuation of a Practice of the earliest Ages.

——— *Socios in cætum littore ab omni
Advocat Æneas tumulique ex aggere fatur.*

Virg. *Æn.* lib. 5. l. 43.

This Defeat of King *Richard* was not the Period of the War between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*. There were some Attempts in the next Reign to revive the Dispute, but they were soon

ended. So rivetted and inveterate was the Aver-
sion of one Party to the other, that every slight
Occasion served for a Handle, to draw out and try
the Fate of Battle.

The two Pretenders against *Henry VII.* had
many Friends to support them, not from a Belief
the late King's Children were Bastards, as was
given out, nor that *Richard* the second Son was
really alive. They might trust the Policy of their
Uncle *Gloucester*, afterwards *Richard III.* to make
sure Work with his Nephews. But so far had his
cruel Behaviour rendered him odious; so far the
old *Lancastrian* Resentment prevailed, fond of
Retribution, that the Earl of *Richmond* was backed
by a Force sufficient to dethrone him.

These Wars between the Houses were bloody,
and continued long; and when one Side prevailed,
the Respite was no longer, than till some Misfor-
tune, or Mismanagement of the Uppermost, gave
the other Opportunity to exert itself. Then the
latent Fire, which Prudence or Necessity had
covered up, broke out and tried for the Mastery.

We may observe a vast Difference between Civil
Wars, and those brought by the Incursions of Nor-
thern Nations: The same may be observed be-
tween the Wars of a neighbouring People, and
the Inroads of a wild Savage Force. This latter
generally bears down all before it, whereas the
other get Ground, and lose it more gradually, be-
cause they are more equally matched. The Art and
Experience of War are pretty much alike in the
same or neighbouring Nations.

The Dispute will be, in a human Way of
reckoning, which hath been the most powerful in
War, Hardiness or Discipline. There are other
human Ingredients of Success, but one of these
hath generally prevailed.

The Advantage the *Greeks* and *Romans* had over other Nations was Discipline. And we have but little Account of Discipline before their Time. Numbers generally carried it in earlier Ages. *Xerxes* had the Experience of the World on his Side, yet found a Handful of Men, as we call it, too many for him.

The *Greeks* against one another, as we find by the *Peloponnesian* War, had no such Superiority, as when they engaged an undisciplined People. The *Roman* Civil Wars were carried on with so even Success, that if some meaner, and more dishonourable Policy had not turned the Scale, Fortune would have been at a Loss to decide it.

If we look at the Wars the *Romans* waged with barbarous Nations, we see evidently the Advantage of Discipline. The *Parthian*, the *Gaul*, the *Briton*, though possessed of the Advantages of their Country, for Retreat or Ambuscade, were at length brought under the Yoke which Art contrived. It was Artifice meerly that saved *Rome* from *Punic* Revenge, and disarmed *Hannibal* ready to enter their Gates.

On the other hand, let us view the Progress of wild Nature, the Advances of Savage Force, and we must allow Nature superior to Art. Had not *Capua* lain in the Way to spoil the Fortune of *Hannibal*, *Rome* had sooner felt the Weight of barbarous Hands, and the Mistress of the World had submitted to a rude Multitude, which she had learned to contemn, and which at length enslaved her.

Whoever had foretold the Fall of *Rome* by *Vandal* and *Gothic* Arms, would have met with little Credit. Yet the Invincible *Rome*, with all her Deities to protect her, and Prudence besides, was not able to hold up her Head against this Inundation of Barbarians.

From the same Source hath most of *Europe* been ruined and new planted. As the Northern Nations increased and crowded one another forward, the antient Inhabitants gave way, and were either cut off by the Sword, or reduced to painful Slavery. The same has been the Fate of *Spain* over-run by the *Moors*; and great Part of *Asia* by the *Scythians*. Both *Europe* and *Asia* are at present in a great measure Peopled from the *Scythians*: The *Scots* seem to bear their Name. And though they came to *Germany*, *Gaul*, *Britain*, and the rest of *Europe* by other Names, these were taken from the Places they last resided at. Only *Normandy* retains the Name of *Nortman*.

If we inquire from what this proceeds, this Difference of Manhood, this Superiority of Nature to Art, it may be resolved into one or both these Causes. In the first Place, the natural Hardiness of Men, which renders them more patient of Cold, Hunger, Fatigue, and Wounds, gives them a vast Advantage of a civilized People. He that hath been used to good Eating, Drinking, Rest, and Shelter, is not a Match for another that hath fared worse. And when the Chance of War reduceth them both to the Want of Necessaries, 'tis easy to say who will first give out. Much may be in Honour and Resolution to carry a Man through a single Difficulty. *Pro Patriâ, pro Aris & Focis*, are Considerations to engage him in hazardous and unequal Exploits. But the Body unused to Toil and Hardship, must sink under the Burthen of Want and Sickneſs, which a *Scythian* Constitution is Proof against.

It may be objected, That the Conquests of these Northern Men, were owing in a great measure to Numbers. Allowing that, to their Hardiness we must attribute their Support; for the more numerous the Army, the more Provisions are requisite.
The

The Country that will maintain a small Army, may starve a greater ; and these Inroaders had no Magazines. There are many Instances of their Victories both in *Britain* and *France*, when they were but equal in Number, or inferior.

The second Reason, is the Order of Nature, and Course of the World. A kind of Rotation is visible in human Affairs. Length of Time, and quiet Possession, introduce Luxury, at least Softness and Impatience of Fatigue. The cold *Tartar*, urged by Hunger, and fierce by Institution, finds an easy Prey. And those that obtained a Country as Lions and Eagles, when civilized, become the Quarry of such Devourers as themselves had been.

The Intention of Nature in arming some of the Brutes with Swiftmess, Teeth, or Claws, seems to be the preventing an inconvenient Increase of the Species. The Earth and the Water would be overstocked with Animals, that must starve one another, and consequently be unfit for the Service and Food of Men. It must otherwise have been the Employment of Man to keep down the Growth of Cattle, which would have been hard to do, when great Part of the Earth was Forest, without the Assistance of Beasts.

A secondary Intention, may be administering to the Wants and to the Pleasures of Men. One Creature is serviceable in catching another, and the Chace is both healthful and delightful. That the Chace was designed as well as the Quarry, is evident from the Strength, Swiftmess, Sagacity of both the Pursuer and the Pursued ; as well as from the near Equality between one and the other, both in Swiftmess and Sagacity, which continues the Diversion.

A far different Account must be given of one Man's preying upon another, of one Nation destroying or expelling another. He that considers the
Species

Species of Brutes designed for the Use and Pleasure of Man, who hath the intire Dominion over them, will be satisfied in their answering that End. But to see this Lord of the inferior Species subjected to the Teeth and Claws of his own Kind; to see the most civilized Nations a Prey to Savages, oppressed, tortured, extirpated by Bears and Wolves in human Shape, must put him upon considering why it is. It would puzzle a *Free-thinker* to account for this; that the Seats of Piety, Virtue, Manners should be overturned and possessed by a Swarm of Pagan Vagabonds. That those who had arrived the nearest to that Perfection, of which Nature had made them capable, should be the Sport and Plunder of the rest that were the nearest to Brutes, who indulged those Appetites they have in common with the Brutes, with more than brutal Fury.

The Pagan Theology of *Greece* and *Rome* resolved it self into an over-ruling Power, and were satisfied with ——— *Sic visum est Superis*. For this their Altars always smoak'd. And so thoroughly were they convinced their Acquisitions were by Permission, that they took the Liberty to call them Gifts.

————— *Nimium vobis Romana propago
Visu potens Superi propria hæc si dona fuissent.*
Virg.

He that led them out to plunder and dispossess an innocent People, consecrated his Undertaking by attending Sacrifice and Auguries. We can scarce believe a Nation so improved and refined could bring War and Desolation upon their Neighbours that had not offended them, without being conscious of the Injustice. The Glory of their Arms, and Honour of the Commonwealth was the first

first Principle of their Actions, which superceded all other Considerations

And with less Guilt might they make People tributary, and reduce them to Provinces, than hath been done since their Time, if we consider their prejudiced and partial Notions of Right and Wrong, that they improved and polished barbarous Nations, and by introducing Arts, Sciences, and Oeconomy, left them richer after their Tribute paid than they found them.

Mr. *Cromwell* seems to have copied after them, when he sent *Blake* to seize what Lands he could in *America*, having a Desire to plant the Gospel at *Hispaniola*.

Less is to be expected still from a Race of wild Men whom Nature hath vomited upon the Earth. Their sudden Arrival from the North, their thrusting one another forward, puts one in mind of the Term for the opening of the Seats of a Theatre, which the *Romans* called *Vomitorium*. These plunder with some Grace, having Appetites to satisfy as well as those they rob. Their Cruelty and inhuman Treatment of the Vanquished is, indeed, against Nature, and owing to barbarous Institution. The Fox gets his Prey as innocently as the Geese do, and 'tis according to the Order of Nature that the Weakest go to the Wall. If we suppose a Swarm of *Scythians* driving out a Nation before them, and putting all to the Sword that stay behind, which is a Case that hath often happened, what have the poor expelled People to do but to seek their Bread where they can find it? It would be in vain for them to petition for a Part of a Country, nor safe, perhaps, for a Neighbour to grant it them, lest they should take all the rest. We hear of no such Compositions, but when the Stranger hath got Footing and cannot
be

be driven out. This was the Case of *Rollo* and his *Normans*, who is supposed to have given the People of *France* as much as he had from them, Peace and Quietness with the Lands they were left possessed of.

It is not only lawful but every Man's Duty to keep off this Scourge as long as he can : To repel Force by Force, to the Hazard of his Life, and he hath not much to hazard that hath only Life left.

But when he is subdued, in the Hands of a merciless Victor, and hath nothing but Famine or Chains before him, when he is come to his——*Sic visum est* —— how can he help reflecting, Why it is so ? Why a short-liv'd Race of Men, a part of whose Age is pass'd in Infancy, another part in Dotage, is subject to be devoured by the more fierce and hardy of his own Species, who in his Prime, is not a Match for the Invader, and in his feeble Age and Sex can make no Resistance.

The tame and more useful part of Beasts have Man for their Protector against the wild. But Man given up to *Goths* and *Vandals*, hath no Redress but in Reflexion, but in a due Submission to the Calamity, and acknowledging, with *Virgil*, his Possessions were none of his own.

To the same is Man liable from Pestilence, Inundation, Famine, Earthquakes, and he may as well dispute the Order of Nature in which these surprize him as the other. *Juvenal* describes the Origin of the Roman State, by *Aliquid quod dicere nolo*.

The Roman Policy was to continue the Apprehension of their being naturally fierce and savage. They had on their Coins the Wolf suckling *Romulus* and *Rhemus* to infuse that Terror into their Enemies,

Enemies, which carried more than half the Victory.

In the *Anatome* of Force which hath been distinguished into Hardiness and Discipline, some of the noble Parts may be thought left out, particularly Stratagem. This may be understood, perhaps, under the Head of Discipline: If not, it must pass amongst the less constituent Parts, and be found in worse Company, such as Hypocrisy, Bribes, Treachery, and the rest of the inferior Pretenders to Glory.

Grotius gives us the Case of an exiled People, and Authorities for his Opinion, in Chap. 2. of his 2d Book *De jure Belli ac Pacis*. *Sed & perpetua habitatio his qui sedibus suis expulsi receptum quaerunt, deneganda non est externis, dum & imperium quod constitutum est subeant, & quæ alia ad vitandus seditiones sunt necessaria. Quam æquitatem recte observavit divinus Poeta cum Æneam inducit has ferentes conditiones :*

— Socer arma *Latinus* habeto,
Imperium solenne focer.

Et apud Halicarnessensem Latinus ipse æquam esse dicit Æneæ causam si sedium inopiâ compulsus eo advenisset. Barbarorum est Hospites pellere ait ex Eratosthene Strabo nec probati hac in parte Spartiani. Ambrosio quoque iudice illi qui peregrinos urbe prohibent nequaquam probandi. Sic Æoles Colophonios, Rhodii Phorbantem ejusque socios, Cares Melios, Lacedæmonii Minyas, Cumæi alios ad se adventantes exceperunt. At de iisdem Minyis recte Herodotus cum recepti partem imperii poscerent ait eos ἐξυπρίσαι καὶ πῖνσαι ἐκ ὅτινα, Beneficium ab illis in injuriam versum discit Valerius Maximus.

This

This great Author has laid down the Dictates of Reason, and Practice of Nations. He has proposed Remedies for Maladies within the Reach of those Remedies. Thus a few Stragglers may find Admittance, conforming themselves to the Laws of that Country upon which they are cast. But when a Swarm or Deluge of Northern Men, able to make their Way, force their Passage, it's too late to propose Terms with them. They are too many and too strong to be compelled into the State of Subjects. It were as much in vain to talk to them of Conditions, as to treat with a Whirlwind. or a Torrent upon the Foot of Moderation.

If we wanted a Proof that *Leicester* was a Roman City, we need go no farther for it than the Account *Matthew Paris* gives of the Ruin of its Walls. These had stood, doubtless, from the Time *Britain* was a Province, till after the *Norman Conquest*. For when *Henry II.* enraged at the Behaviour of *Robert Bossu*, Earl of *Leicester*, laid Siege to the Place, the Strength of the Mortar made the Walls of it impenetrable, so that they were not to be broken down by battering. Here *Norman Engineering*, indeed, out-stripped the *Roman*. By undermining these Walls, and taking the Earth from under, their Weight made them fall and divide into Rocks, between which the Besiegers entered.

The Father of this *Robert Bossu* was one of the greatest Men of his Age; he was *Robert de Bellamont*, Earl of *Mellent* and Lord de *Pont Audamar*, the first Earl of *Leicester*, after the *Saxon Race* failed. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* describes him as a Man that could govern both the Kingdom of *England* and *France*, by being able to govern their Kings. Upon the Remorse he was
in

in some time before he died, and which is said to have occasioned his Death, his Confessor thought he had a proper Opportunity of moving him to a Restitution of his ill-gotten Riches. But the Earl would give him no better than a drolling Answer, What could he then leave to his Sons? The honestly-gotten part of your Substance, replied the good Man. No, saith the Penitent, I'll give them all, and leave them to do Works of Mercy for the Good of my Soul.





A NEW
SURVEY
OF
ENGLAND.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE



AS, according to the *Roman* Division of the Island, a Part of *Coritani*, according to the *Saxon* included in *Mercia*. It is written sometimes *Northafendonscyre*, sometimes *North-antonsshire*. The County is named from the Shire Town.

It is bounded on the North by the Counties of *Leicester*, *Rutland*, *Lincoln* ; on the East by *Huntingdonshire* ; on the South by those of *Bedford* and *Bucks* ; on the West by *Warwickshire*. It is an Oblong, extended from South-West to North-East, broadest towards the South-West, where it touches upon *Oxfordshire*. From *Banbury* to *Peterburgh* is its longest Diameter. Its narrowest Part is from *Water Newton*, the Pass over the *Nen* from

from *Chesterton Durobrivæ* in *Huntingdonshire*, to *Stamford* in *Lincolnshire*. East of the Road from *Chesterton* to *Stamford*, is a *Lingula* of *Northamptonshire*, reaching to *Peterburgh* and the Fens, occasioned by a Turn to the North the *Nen* makes, which divides it from *Huntingdonshire*. The *Wel-*
land divides it from the other Counties on the North; *Ouse* from those on the South; *Nen* rising near *Daventry*, waters the middle Part, till it becomes, at length, its Divider from *Huntingdon-*
shire.

This County hath the Honour, above all the rest in *England*, to be picked out for the Residence of the greatest Number of Men of Fortune. The Parallel between it and *Surrey* will not stand good, though nothing exceeds some Parts of *Surrey* in Beauty and Pleasure, because that is chosen for its near Neighbourhood to *London*, the Convenience of retreating from Business, and stepping up to it again: To say nothing of the delightful Situations on the Banks of *Thames*, and the Easiness of Passage by that River.

But this is thought worthy of a whole Summer's Stay, as once it was of a Winter's too, when the *Old Buttery Hatch* groaned under the insupportable Load of Hospitality: Before the Sun and the Earth were discarded, with which, for half the Year, some have little more Correspondence than those that live so long under the Snow in the North of *Muscovy*.

The Woods, Lawns, Fields, Meadows, Chases, Parks, Waters, Gardens of this County, supplied their Masters with Health and Pleasure; who, two Generations backward, would as willingly have hired Lodgings in the *Fleet* or *Marshalsea*, as have sacrificed the real and sincere Delights of the Country, for the *Politesse* of a neighbour
 B b Nation.

Nation. Had Dress and Equipage been the Ambition of our Ancestors, they had never been so terrible upon the Continent. Rural Sports and manly Exercises made them hardy and robust, and trained them to Feats of Arms.

He that said, nothing was brought from the Holy War, but the Sign of the *Saracen's* Head, might have added that Glory which made our Commanders loved by their own, and dreaded by the Enemies Troops. The Labour of War, for it is not all Stratagem, is hardly borne but by those accustomed to Fatigue.

Mr. *Moreton* hath served this County in a Collection of their Antiquities, for which he will be ever had in Esteem, as well as for his compleat natural History.

They have a great Loss in the Death of Mr. *Bridges*, whose accurate and expensive Search, if brought to Perfection, would have made the reading upon the County equal to the natural Beauties of the Soil.

The Name *Northampton* is generally fetched from its North Situation upon the River *Aufona*, whence *Northafendon*. But this will hardly stand a proper Test.

In the first Place, it does not appear from any good Authorities, that the River ever had the Name of *Aufona*. Some would make it the same with *Antona*, the Difference arising only from blundering Copiers. *Ostorius* is said by the Roman Historian to have posted his Forces between the Rivers *Antona* and *Sabrina*. *Sabrina* is, without Dispute, the *Severn*. *Antona* therefore must be nearer the *Severn* than *Northamptonshire* is, and a more considerable Stream.

If this were ever called *Aufona*, it could be no more than *Avon* latinized, and so but a general Appellative. In what History do we find it called
Aufona?

Aufona? And when did it change for the modern Name *Nen*, which can never be a Corruption from it.

To come at the Truth, we must come at *Southampton*, where we may expect to find the same Name. *Hamtune* was the *Saxon* Name of both these, distinguished from one another when the Island was all in the same Hand, by the Addition of *South* and *North*. Whilst the Heptarchy stood, and no Communication between Places at such Distance, there was no need of a Distinction. But afterwards, to avoid Confusion, this Difference was made.

The Moderns will find a Difference in the writing the two Names; ours they will have *Northampton*, the other *South-hampton*, as the County in *Doomsday* is written *Hantscyre*. The Truth is, as appears from *Sommer*, and the Annotations on *Camden*, the oldest Name of both is *Hamtune*, which the *Saxon* Annals write it. The other is a Novelty introduced by the *Normans*, either for soft and easy Pronunciation to a *Frenchman*, or to shew they would conquer Words as well as Men, and make them malleable to their own Customs. Thus *Lincolnshire* was called by them *Nicolshire*, as every-body allows.

Its true, *Hamtune* might be a Corruption of *Avontun*, or the *Town upon the River*. And that would suit better with *Northampton* than the received one, *The Town North of the River*. For the *Saxons* were not so very particular in distinguishing the Side of the Stream, any more than we are at present, who speak of a Town standing on such or such a River, without mentioning on which Bank.

Many *Hamtons* we have, and many Names ending in *Ham*. If we try a great many of them, we shall find them upon a Stream. This is the Situa-

tion of *Northampton, Southampton, Hampton-Court* in *Middlesex*, as well as the other in *Herefordshire*, built after its Model, the Seat of Lord *Coningsby*. *East and West Ham, Raynham*; both the Lord *Townshend's* in *Norfolk*, and the other in *Essex, Dagenham, Fulham*, and a Multitude more that might be produced, have the same Situation.

Yet they all seem to take their Name from some House or Seat, which *Ham* in the *Saxon* Language signifies. These generally stood near Water, both for Security and Convenience. They could then moat themselves in, and preserve their own and their Tenants Cattle, from a sudden Inroad of the Enemy, 'till by firing Beacons, they assembled the Force of the Country. Our Ancestors had not the modern Relish of Prospects and Vistas, setting themselves upon a Hill, or at the End of a graceful Avenue; for *Dicier hic est*. They loved warm and low Grounds, generally most fruitful. And 'tis observable, where they indulged themselves in Walks and Rows of Trees, they pointed not to the House, but one must make a Turn from the Avenue to it.

Farther, they seemed to aim at being Masters of great Quantity of Fish, both for the Fasting Days they were obliged to observe, and that there was not Flesh in such Plenty as now.

Before the Land was cleared of Woods, and turned to Agriculture, the Breed of Cattle was not comparable to what it is at present. Since the Reformation, a *Wednesday's* Abstinence from Meat was appointed, to encourage the Growth of Cattle; and the Law that enjoins it, forbids any Man to say it was upon a Religious Account, under Penalty of being punished as a Spreader of false News. The Transporting live Cattle from *Ireland* was prohibited since, to improve the Rents
of

of Lands here, which shews the Stock was not such as 'tis now.

They took Pleasure too in rowing or sailing upon the Water, as we find by the Remains of large Pools, which are now drained, and used for Grazing. In the History of the Abbey of *St. Albans*, we have frequent Mention of a Fish-Pool which filled all the Meadows between *Verulam* and *St. Albans*. There was a Royal Seat adjoining to it, called *Kingsbury*, where the Kings of this Country frequently resided, and took the Diversion of the Water. Anchors have been sometimes found in these Meadows, which belonged to their Pleasure-Boats; and a Street in *St. Albans* hath its Name from it, *Fish-Pool-Street*. Such Resort there was to this *Kingsbury*, of the Officers and Dependents of the Court, for Fishing and other Diversions here, as made the Abbots very uneasy. They made so frequent Visits, as to tire out their Hospitality; and it was reckoned a great Point gained of the Crown, to get *Kingsbury* in the Hands of the Monastery.

The Water was also of great Service for the Diversion of the Youth, to train them to Activity and manly Exercises. Some were performed in Boats, others upon the Ice, to the great Satisfaction of the Spectators. A more particular Account is given of these in our Second Part upon *Middlesex*, from the Relation of *Fitz-Stephens*, who describes the Usages of *Henry III's* Reign.

This County is something less than at the Conquest, the South Part of *Rutlandshire* having been reckoned into it, as appears from *Domesday*.

Here are, as Mr. *Morton* hath observed, *Roman* Remains at several Parts of the County; some shew Camps, some Foundations of Buildings, and some Coins, and other Rarities.

Here are two grand *Roman* Roads crossing this County, the one where it is broadest, the other where it is narrowest. The first is allowed to be *Watling-Street*, one of those four the Conqueror's Law called *Chemini Majores*, and confined several Privileges to such as passed upon it.

The other must pass without a particular Name, there being besides what the four have, no higher Title than Vicinal. This is too great to be called so. But it may be remembered, the *Romans* themselves had no distinguishing Names for any, but in general they were called Military, Prætorian, Consular, Basilical. And it is no Diminution to the Antiquity or Grandeur of this, that the *Saxons* neglected to give it a particular Appellation, or if they did, that the *Normans* have not recorded it. It may, indeed, be reckoned a Way of more than ordinary Consequence, as it branches out into two several ones in this County, and serves the Purpose of those that go Northward to *Newark*, and those that go North-East to *Sleaford*. The North-East *Agger* is that by which the fifth Journey of *Antoninus* is performed. We have pursued that Journey in our Second, Third, and Fourth Parts, as the Stations lay in the Counties there described: And before our Time, we have been forced to take Notice where the Military Way enters this County, where it parts, and where each Branch enters *Lincolnshire*; because our Line would otherwise have been broken, which it was not proper to do, for so very few Miles as it takes up in its Passage through the County. I refer therefore to the Third and Fourth Parts, for what is here but briefly mentioned.

Authors antient and modern, have agreed upon the Place where this Road crosses the *Nen* towards *Castor*. *Camden* hath traced it out, informed probably by Sir *Robert Cotton*, who from the Neighbourhood

bourhood of *Cunnington*, must have been well acquainted with it. After him *Gale*, *Stukeley*, and the rest have followed from *Upton* the *Forty-foot Way* to *Stamford*, the *Long Ditch*, or *High Street* to *Deeping*. Mr. *Peck* in his *Antiquities of Stamford*, hath been more exact in recovering the *Fortyfoot*, or Northern Way between *Burleigh Park*, and *Brigg Casterton*, which others had only guessed at, without being able accurately to trace it.

The Account Mr. *Camden*, Dr. *Stukeley*, and Mr. *Peck*, give of *Castor* in this County, makes it beyond Dispute Roman, as well as the Remains Dr. *Baxter* carried from thence, and what are yet to be seen upon the Place. But that it is not a Station, I humbly conceive, from its disagreeing with the Numbers of the *Itinerary*; from its wanting the Fortifications of a Station; from the finding these Fortifications at *Chesterton*, on the *Huntingdonshire* Side the River, which also answer as to Distance.

Many Houses and Vills are to be found upon a Military Way, that were used by the Romans for Pleasure or Retirement, and, perhaps, secured by a Wall against Suprize: And such this seems to have been.

That there was a Place hereabouts called *Dormancester*, *Camden* believes, but gives us no Authorities for it. It seems a Name lately given to it, coined by somebody that observed here Roman Remains, that made it out of the Name of the Way in *Castor* Field, called *Normangate*, and from the Name the Country People give to the Roman Money found here, which they call *Dormans*. The first Syllable having a little Affinity with *Durobrivæ*; and the Situation being upon Water, in the *British Dour*, gave our Author an Inclination to let that of *Dormancester* pass for antient Tradition. *Sommer* hath

Dormceaster, which he calls, *Urbicula in agro Huntingdoniensi ad Nen fluvium posita ab aquâ Britannis Dor vel Dower denominata.* But neither does he produce any Author for this, and, perhaps he had no other than *Camden*. If any Place had this Name, it must have been *Castor*, both from the Evidence of Remains, and the latter Part of the Name yet left.

If a Conjecture may be allowed, I imagine this *Dorman* meant nothing else but *Roman*. We find the Road called *Normangate*, as well as the Coins *Dormans*. This Gate or Road, and a Road in the North is still called a Gate, was truly a *Roman* Road; and the Coins truly *Roman* Coins. And those found at *Chesterton* on the *Huntingdonshire* Side the *Nen*, are called *Dormans*, as constantly as those found in *Castor* Field. *Normangate* is as much a Corruption from *Dormangate*, supposing that the right, as either of them from *Roman*.

We have many Words corrupted and altered, till the Sense of them is quite lost; and that not only amongst the Country People, but the Learned in the Law: The Language being lost in which our Pleadings are. The Word *Culprit* pronounced by the Officer to a Criminal having pleaded *Not Guilty*, hath no tolerable Meaning affixed to it. If we understand by it, *Culpa parata est*, we introduce a Language the Law doth not use. It seems to be no more than a good-natur'd Wish, *Qu'il paroît*; That the Innocence he hath asserted may appear: Agreeably to the Form of the other Wish; *God send you a good Deliverance*.

Who could believe, a Street in *Cheshunt* in *Hertfordshire*, in the Memory of Man and Maps, *Cresbrook-Street*, should by this Time be corrupted to *Carbuncle-Street*?

To instance in but one Corruption more of the Word *Roman*, the famous *Ravensbank*, which crosses

crosses the *Lincolnshire Holland* from West to East, from *Cowbit* to *Tid St. Mary's*, Dr. *Stukeley* informs us, is in old Writings *Romans Bank*. The Roman Camp in *Hertfordshire Durocobrivæ*, as I presume, goes by the Name of *Ravensborough Castle*. Another Fortification I have seen somewhere of that Name.

Lolham Briggs, which *Camden* mentions as of great Antiquity, upon the *High Dyke* leading to *Lincolnshire*, some imagine the Work of the Romans. If the *Cardyke* was, and the Road by it, going on in a Line by *Burne* and *Sleford* to the *Witham*; these must have been necessary to make the other useful. The Form and Design may be intirely Roman, though they have been Five hundred times perhaps rebuilt, receiving such Damage from Floods, as to be in perpetual want of Repair. And such a Work as the *Cardyke*, and the *Agger* that accompanies it, could have been performed by none but Roman Hands, or those employed under them. We are sure the Britons could do no such Thing after the Legions were withdrawn. Nor did the Saxons attempt such grand Performances. If they kept Things of this kind in tolerable Repair, 'tis enough to be expected from them. And if the Normans had done it, we should have had it in our Histories.

But the Roman Itinerary puts it beyond all Dispute, since this was their Road from Station to Station, the Remains of which are at this Day visible, and the Distance exact.

One Thing is observable in those called *Tessellated Pavements* at *Castor*, at least those I have seen, they are not composed of Cubes, first painted, then joined together. They are not Cubes nor Equilateral, but Strokes are drawn with a Knife, or some thin Instrument, and the Colouring laid on to every single one afterwards. It had been impossible

impossible to lay these Pieces so close together as they lie, had they ever been asunder, because their Form is irregular. Some of these are taken up at such a Depth in the Churchyard, that it hath been questioned of what Use they could have been: If for Baths, or for the Garnishing of their common Walls, they did not go so far under Ground for Apartments.

It may be considered, That the Churchyard is upon the Side of the Hill: Higher toward the Top of this Hill have been Buildings, and probably a strong Wall. When the Foundation of these was dug, the Earth in course fell downwards; by the washing of Rains, and by throwing the Earth that way, it might with least Trouble be moved, this might happen; or from the Burning of the Church or Town, the Rubbish might raise the Ground to the Height it is.

The Pieces of Wall on the Outside of which this smooth chequered Work is found, are about ten Inches thick, consisting of a Sort of Mortar very hard, and much coarser than what they call the Tessellated Part. The Parsonage of this Village is a very good one, belonging to the Bishop of *Peterborough*, who enjoys the Profits, and appoints a Curate.

If the *Romans* had ever thought of this Place for a Station, they would certainly have followed their old Rule, and fortified the Top of the Hill. Whereas the Ground on which the present Vill stands is at the Bottom, and no Signs of Building are near the Top. Perhaps Water would have been hard to come at upon the Hill. This is the Case of *Ancaster* in *Lincolnshire*, the Camp is on the Top of the Hill, yet remaining, the Town in the Bottom where the Water is. If ever there was any Fortification to *Castor*, it was nothing but Walling.

The wonderful Roman Causeway mentioned by Sir *William Dugdale* in his History of Draining, to be carried on from *Denvers* Sluice in *Norfolk*, to *Peterburgh*, seems to have pointed to *Chesterton*, either directly from *Peterburgh*, or by falling into the *Highbdyke* about *Castor*. For we don't find any Memorials of the Romans at *Peterburgh*, nor, indeed, of any Inhabitants there so early as the Roman Times. The Saxon Name of the Place was *Medeshamsted*, occasioned, we are told, by a remarkable Gulph, or Whirlpool, in the River, called *Medes-well*. *Somner* interprets it *Pratenfis habitandi locus*, which is a fair Account, if Mead and Meadow are Saxon Words.

This Causeway was in Length Twenty-four Miles, consisting of Gravel sixty Foot broad, and three Foot thick, the Materials of which must be found elsewhere, and brought hither. They that represented it as all Gravel may be mistaken, because Stone is to be had in this Neighbourhood, more durable, and fitter for the Work. Every where in this Country towards *Lincolnshire*, upon turning up the Surface of the Ground, nothing is to be met with but coarse light-coloured Stone, two or three Inches thick, fit for such a Purpose. It is used for making Park Walls, and serves without Mortar; a little Clay at the Ends next Gates or Stiles is sufficient. Of these I believe was the famed Causeway made, with Gravel laid at Top, which was the Roman Method; and the Gravel only appearing, the whole was taken for such.

By this *Agger* the Romans had a Communication between their Garrisons in *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Cambridgeshire*, and those of *Lincolnshire*, and *Nottinghamshire*, by the *Fortyfoot Way*, leading from this Neighbourhood to *Stamford*, with those of *Huntingdonshire*, *Bedfordshire*, and the South, by the Road from *Chesterton*.

This

This Causeway, one may imagine, was securer before the draining the Fens than since. The Water being confined to narrow Channels, in order to drain the Lands, upon an extraordinary Flood, or breaking the Banks, comes with greater Violence than when it had its antient open Passage, as the incomparable *Hudibras* observes ;

*As when the Sea breaks o'er its Bounds,
And overflows the level Grounds ;
Those Banks and Damms that, like a Skreen,
Did keep it out, now keep it in.*

Oundle upon the River Nen is supposed to be named from *Avondale*. If so, *Avon* may be no more than a general Appellative. How it came to be *Nen*, is not so clear ; it can't be by Corruption, unless Mr. *Baxter's* Hypothesis be admitted. That Author would make it out from *Ravennas*, in whose List of *British* Rivers one is *Maina*, according to the *Vatican* Manuscript *Mavia*. This he will have erroneously written for *Annina*, whence he brings *Nin* or *Nen*. I do not grudge the Reader this Criticism, with which I am not my self much edified, but leave it him in the last Words of Sir *William* *Campion's* Epitaph at *Colchester* ;

*If thou likest his Judgment, thou wilt praise his
Virtue.*

The other Roman Military Way through this County is the *Watling Street*. This I find passing the *Ouse* from *Buckinghamshire*, and leading thro' *Towceter* to *Borough Hill*, a Mile North of *Daven-*
try, the *Bennavenna*, as I presume, of *Antoninus*. I have no Adversary that denies the Course of
the

the *Watling Street* through *Towceter*. Every one admits it passes the *Ouse* between *Stony-Stratford*, on the *Buckinghamshire Bank*, and *Old Stratford* on the *Northamptonshire Bank*.

Camden pitched upon *Weedon on the Street* for the Station, chiefly because he found it on the Street, and on the River, and that the Distance from *Laetorodum* was exact. The last of these will not hold, unless he reckons by *Italick Miles*, which Measure will not answer from Station to Station any where in *England*, according to the Numbers of the *Itinerary*. He confesses he hath no Remains of the *Roman Name* here. Nor will any that comes after him find any Remains but what are *Saxon*. Whatever Traces of *Vallum* and Ditch are guessed at, we may conclude them to be for the Security of the *Mercian King Wolpher*, who had a Palace, and some time resided here. During the *Heptarchy* it was not thought safe to dwell any where without some Fortification, especially in such a Place as this, where Nature has made no Defence, but every thing without Works must lie open to an Enemy.

Dr. Gale, not satisfied with this Situation for *Roman*, hath brought the Station a Mile more Southward, for the Sake of a Fortress he found at *Castle Dikes*, which others admit to be *Roman*. He believes the Name to have been anciently *Pennavenna*, from its standing upon the River. 'Tis highly probable the *British* Name was *Pen-avon*, which the *Romans* did not, perhaps, distinguish from *Benavon*, the Pronunciation being almost the same. As to Coins found hereabout, the Neighbourhood of *Dantry* is sufficient Countenance to expect them, as well as the Military Way.

Mr. Baxter indulges himself in his usual Liberty, and makes an Emendation to *Dannavantria*, which he

he calls *Oppidum intra amnem*. He might surely have gone to *Daventry* without the Formality of an *Etymon* to justify him. Equipage is a pretty thing, but can a Man go no where without it? Unless we could prove the *Saxons* as hearty Lovers of Etymology as our selves, it were vain to look for *Roman* Names in theirs. If ever the old Appellation remains, or any farther Light afforded than what *Borough* and *Ceaster* give, we may look upon it as a Rarity, and think our selves extreamly fortunate. But we are not for half a dozen lucky Hits in a hundred Experiments, to set our Hearts upon making a constant Practice of it, especially where was nothing but a Camp upon a barren Hill. This on *Borough Hill* is a meer Fortrefs without Pretence of being inhabited but for *Æstiva*. Where-ever, I believe, we have the Remains of a *Roman* Name, we must find it where there was a Town, and where there was a Town possess'd by the *Saxons*.

He hath observed upon *Camden*, that in his first Edition he mentions *Roman* Remains at *Daventry*, and was for making it the Station, and writing it *Pennavenna*; but that his second Thoughts were for *Weedon*, where nothing of Antiquity was to be found. This is not the only Instance where second Thoughts have been wrong. It sometimes happens in Matters of greater Moment, a Man through excessive Modesty and Deference to another's Judgment, falls into an Error which he might have kept out of, had he Courage enough to be of his own Opinion.

The Fortification on *Borough Hill* Mr. *Moreton* found to be an imperfect Oval, which Mr. *Camden* had taken for a Square. It seems to have been of that Form with Design to comply with the Hill. The exterior Line is about three Miles round. Within it is a Course of two Miles. It is
but

but a small Part of this that seems to be *Roman*, and such Mr. *Moreton* allows it. Whether the large Camp was *British*, and in Use against the *Romans*, or whether it was *British*, *Danish* or *Saxon* afterwards, nothing shews. But it can hardly be accounted for by Stratagem, according to the Notion of *Stevechi*. He will have it that the *Romans*, to make themselves terrible, marked out vast Camps that their Number might appear greater. But this favours little of their Policy. Nor is the Story very credible which *Quintus Curtius* relates of *Alexander's* last Camp in *India*, which was, in every respect, twice as large as it needed to have been. The Tents of the Foot and Horse were all double to the usual Dimension. The Design, it seems, was to possess Posterity with a Notion, that the Conquerors of the World were of an unusual gigantick Size. This would, by no Means, have set off their Valour. If they had been represented Pigmies, their Glory had been the greater. Perhaps it was to make their Bodies suitable to their drinking Cups. The Draughts Dr. *Prideaux* allows the Hero to have taken off upon his dying Day, might have served a small Garrison upon a gaudy Occasion.

The Pains Mr. *Baxter* has taken to soften *Isanavantia* into *Bennavenna*, might have been saved, because they may, I presume, be proved distinct Stations. Nor is his Method very natural. (IS) is written like (B). At this Rate both Towns and Men may be persuaded out of their christened Name.

Penavon is a Name for the Hill suitable to the *British* Usage of denominating Places, and so may be the Hill near the Source of the River. Thus *Penmenmaur*, *Pendle*, *Pennocrucium*. The Military Way from hence by *Highcross*, between the Counties of *Warwick* and *Leicester*, I do not dispute.

dispute. But it must go under the Notion of a Vicinal Way, because the Course of the *Watling Street* is elsewhere. This by *Highbrooks* is called the *Streetway*, to which it hath a Right, though no more than Vicinal. The *Watling Street* enters *Warwickshire*, leaving *Catesby* on the left, and points to *Chesterton*, where it has an Intersection with the *Fosse*.

There are other Fortresses in this County which are *Roman*. And it is, perhaps, from their being so frequent here, that Authors have attributed them to *Ostorius*. And that they have made the *Nen* the River mentioned by *Tacitus* with *Sabrina*. We may look into the West and see Camps thicker than a constant Use of them required. As they pushed on their Conquests they might raise a new Fortrefs.

According to the Account of *Roman Discipline*, collected by *Lipsius*, one would believe many of their great Works were performed for the sake of keeping their Soldiers employed and exercised. Even from their Winter Stations they were obliged to march out ten Miles into the Country three times in a Month, with all their Mounting, and the same Weight of Arms and Utensils as when commanded upon Service. The *Veterans* were exercised once every Day, the *Tyrones* twice. The Labour to which their Men were enured by Custom, was grown into such a Habit, and so easily borne, as to make them despise common Fatigues, as well as to make those that lived after them, who had Carriages for their Baggage, admire the Severity of their Discipline, and their chearful Obedience to it.

Upon a March every Soldier carried a Month's Provision of Diet, a Spear, Shield and Helmet, a Saw, Basket, Spade, Hatchet, some Pallisades, with a Thong and Chain to bind his Captives. I
don't

don't know how the great Man came to omit a Sword and Darts. The latter might not be always used, nor by every *Cohort*, but we have Mention of Swords in all their Engagements. As early as *Cæsar's* second Expedition he gives a Relation of the Bravery of one *Scæva*, who, with four Fellow-Soldiers, was driven upon a Rock and attacked by a Number of *Britons*. He kept his Ground till the other four were got off, and defended himself first with his Spear, then with his Sword, till he was weary and wounded, then swam off to *Cæsar*, asked Pardon for his Rashness, and was made a *Centurion*. *Lipsius*, it may be, did not think it necessary to mention the Sword, because it was constantly worn, or something equivalent, as Hangers by the *Saxons*, called *Saix*, whence they are thought to have their Name.

Castledykes hath been named already. Here are besides, *Gilsborough Roman*, which gives Name to a Hundred, and *Arbury Banks* upon a high Hill between *Catesby* and *Badby*, where ten Acres are fortified. This Name I find in several Counties for *Roman Work*, or what by the *Saxons* was reputed *Roman*. Above *Ashwell* in *Hertfordshire* is a Piece of Ground inclosed with a Wall of Earth, without any Ditch, where *Roman Coins* are sometimes found, which hath been thought *Roman Work*. Another Fortrefs called *Tarborough* Dr. *Stukely* mentions in his fifth *Iter*, which gives name to a Hundred in the North of *Lincolnshire*.

I would look for the Meaning of this Word in *Eard*, which in *Saxon* signifies *Earth*, and as *D* and *Tb* are esteemed the same, without asking Favour, I may call it *Earth*. *Beorg* in that Language is a Rampart, written sometimes *Beorb*. This, by Corruption, comes to *Bury*, as *Burgh* is

at this Day sometimes pronounced *Borough*, and sometimes *Brough*. So that *Arbury* and *Tarborough* is no more than a *Fortress of Earth*, to which the Vulgar have added Banks, for want of knowing they were expressed in *Arbury*.

We may observe that *Nether-Heyford*, where Mr. *Moreton* mentions the chequered Pavement discovered 1699, stands upon the *Watling Street*. The Colours, he informs us, were four, White, Yellow, Red and Blue, and the Squares exact. These Squares might be exact, without being compiled of different Pieces. By a Ruler these might have been measured out and painted afterwards, as those of *Castor* were. At the latter Place the Pains of measuring were saved, but if the Work could be done exactly with a little more Trouble, we need not think this Furniture of a Bath so prodigious as it is generally represented. They have a smooth glazed Outside, like the *Dutch Tiles*, with which we face our Chimneys.

Mr. *Camden* and others have been fond of making *Towceter Tripontium*, rather surely because they are bound to find it a Settlement somewhere, than that any Appearance of *Roman Works* are here. He gives Examples of *Trimontium* in *Thrace*, *Triturrita* in *Italy*, and *Tripolis*, to introduce this Name from three Bridges. But the Stream at last is not considerable enough for the *Romans* to have one here. We find it their Practice to ford every where in great Rivers where they could; and the Word Ford is expressed in the Name of most of those Passages, where now we have Bridges. They would not have brought up a Custom here, where was so little Occasion to deviate from their antient Method. Nor do I find the way of writing this Town *Touecestre* well established.

Mr.

Mr. Camden saith *Marianus* calls it so. But this, with his usual Ingenuity, he hath added, *If the Writing be not faulty.*

Our Author mentions the Family of *Knightly*, of *Fawesley*, as an antient one, descended from the *Knightleys* of *Gnowshall*, in *Staffordshire*. I have somewhere found this Family of *Gnowshall* came from *Knightly*, whence they received their Name. *Knightly* is a Place as remarkable for Roman Remains, as any in the County of *Stafford*.

The Tragedy of *Fotheringay* he would have razed out of the Memory of Mankind, and so it seems to have been out of the Memory of the Son of that unhappy Princess, whose Death was passed over without an Attempt of Punishment, or so much as an Acknowledgement of the Accessories, that they had done amiss. Yet the concluding Stroke of the Peers, according to Sir *Richard Baker*, was the Sting of Death. After finding her guilty, they petitioned the Queen to have the Sentence executed; and put her in mind of the fearful Examples of God's Judgments, extant in Scripture, upon King *Saul* for sparing *Agag*, and upon *Abab* for not putting *Benhadad* to Death. Upon this, saith Sir *Richard*, the Queen answered; "She desired to live only for their Sake; otherwise, when she calls to mind things past, beholds the present, and expects what may happen in time to come, that she accounts them most happy that go soonest hence."

Mr. Camden saith, "If this Action cannot be forgot, let it be passed over in Silence." By which he only can mean, as he is himself speaking of it, to represent it in the most favourable Light. He saith, "Under the best of

“ Princes some there will be, who, being once armed
“ with Authority, know how to set a fair Face
“ of Conscience and Religion upon their own
“ private Designs.” He concludes: “ The best
“ Princes are sometimes violently hurried away,
“ as good Pilots with Tempests, whither they
“ would not. But what they do as crowned
“ Heads, we must leave to God, who only hath
“ Power over Kings.



A NEW



A NEW
SURVEY
OF
ENGLAND.

BEDFORDSHIRE,



ACCORDING to the *Roman* Division, was inhabited by the *Cattieu-chlani*; in the *Heptarchy* 'twas Part of *Mercia*. On the North it is contiguous to *Northamptonshire* and *Huntingdonshire*; on the West to *Buckinghamshire*; on the South-East to *Hertfordshire*; on the East to *Cambridgeshire*. The Country the *Cattieu-chlani* possessed, is generally reckoned this with the adjacent *Hertfordshire* and *Bucks*. Their chief Towns are, by *Ptolemy*, called *Verulam* and *Salenæ*.

The County takes its Name from the *Shire* Town, *Bedford*. Mr. *Camden* calls it *Bedanford*, which he interprets, *Beds or Inns at the Ford*. I was never satisfied with this Etymology, as disso-

nant to all the Names of Towns I know. What the *Britons* called it, we are not told, except by Mr. *Camden's* Information, *Lifwider* or *Lettidur*, which he guesſes to be a Translation from the *Saxon* Name, and to ſignify the ſame thing. *Somner* writes it *Bedicanforda*. With the Addition of one Vowel more it may be brought to expreſs the Strength and Situation of the Place, and that is more natural than the other. I mean, that this compound Name hath had an (i) more in it antiently, which, by Degrees, and for Brevity, may have been dropt. The Word *Bedician*, according to the ſame *Somner*, ſignifies *Foſſâ munire*, to intrench and fortify with a Ditch. If the laſt Vowel except one of this *Bedician*, were either dropt, or, by Miſtake, turned into a (c) in writing, which would not alter the Sound, we may underſtand by it the *Fortreſs upon the Ford*. Nor is this asking any Favour, for if *Somner's* way of ſpelling it is right, it could not ſignify *Beds at the Ford*. *Bedanforda* would then have been the Word, not *Bedicanforda*.

How juſtly this Place may be thought named from the Fortification, its Importance, as far as Hiſtory reaches, may determine. *Camden* obſerves, that *Cuthwolph*, the *Saxon*, carried a deciſive Battle here againſt the *Britons*: That *Offa*, the powerful King of the *Mercians*, choſe it for his Burial, which proves it conſiderable: That after the *Norman Conqueſt*, when *Pagan de Beauchamp*, the third that was called Baron of *Bedford*, had built a Caſtle there, never a Civil Commotion aroſe in the Kingdom, but what had a Stroke at it while ſtanding.

King *Stephen*, as *Camden* obſerves, made himſelf Maſter of this Caſtle. *William de Beauchamp*, Lord here, delivered it up to the Barons, from whom *Fulk de Brent* took it, without much Difficulty.

culty. From the Strength of the Place we may imagine it was given up upon that general Consternation the *English* every where were under at the Approach of King *John's* Forces, as has been observed upon *Leicestershire*. For when the same *Fulk de Brent* held it out against King *Henry III.* he stood a Siege of sixty Days in Form, and lost it by Inches. This boisterous Man had something terrible in him, beyond the rest of his Age. He was Bully for the King, and Bully against the King, and after all his Demerits, came off without losing his Life, which had been sufficiently forfeited. He had seized the King's Justices at *Dunstable*, because they had set a great Fine upon him for the Rapine he had committed after the War, as well as in it. Two of them made their Escape, the third he kept Prisoner in his Castle of *Bedford*.

One thing remarkable in the Story of these Times is, that before *Fulk* and the rest of the great Men marched to the Relief of *Lincoln* Castle, they were confessed, and received the Communion at *Newark*. *Paris* expresseth it, *Corporis & Sanguinis Dominici perceptione sese muniebant*.

Dr. *Braddy* mentions *Henry II.* receiving the Sacrament at the Altar of the Church of *Chinon*, into which he was carried just before his Death. The Historian's Words are, *Communione Corporis & Sanguinis Domini*. Upon this the Doctor makes a *Quære*, whether he received it not in both Kinds. The other Instance of the Officers of *Henry III.'s* Army receiving in both Kinds, is plainer still, because the Word *Communio* is not there. How exact the Monks were in their Accounts we don't know. But it has been, it seems, a Practice to communicate Kings and Princes in both Kinds, when the other Laity were denied it. *Fulk de*

Brent, and his Brother Officers, were like enough to plead Privileges equal to Kings. They had the Pope's *Legate* with them too, who had declared *Louis of France* and his Allies, that were Enemies to King *Henry*, excommunicate.

The *Watling Street*, as I presume, enters this County at *Luton* from *St. Albans*. It hath its Course first to the North, then to the West. From *Luton* it carries us over the Downs, where it hath an Interfection with the *Ikening Street*, leading from *Dunstable* to *Baldock*. Thence the *Watling* goes in a strait Line to *Ravensborough* in *Hertfordshire*, the *Durocobrivæ*, as I conceive, of the *Itinerary*. The County of *Hertford* here juts into that of *Bedford*, so that the Line is not broken. From *Ravensborough* we descend the Hill to *Barton*, thence by *Shefford* to *Sandy*, *Magiovinium*.

About the Interfection of the *Watling* and *Ikening* are, in a Bottom, some long Barrows, which seem to be a Memorial of some Victory. I should imagine it to be upon the Defeat of the *Danes*, by the Army of *Edward the Elder*, who, according to *Matthew Florilegus*, were beaten by him in *finibus Luitoniæ & Provinciæ Hertfordensis*, in the Year 914. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* places this Battle under 911, which makes no great Difference. He tells us, after the *Danes* had worsted the *Saxons* at *Hokes Norton* in *Oxfordshire*, *Postquam redierunt domum statim venit alia caterva (Danorum) & ivit, ad Ligetune. Gens autem Patriæ illius eos comperiens pugnavit cum iis & eos fugavit, & totam prædam quam ceperant eis abstulit & etiam equos eorum.*

But there is a Difficulty in attributing these Barrows to the *Danes*, as Makers of them, because they lost the Day, and therefore had not the Field of Battel, and the burying their Dead in
this

this solemn, and, indeed, triumphant Manner. It is possible the *Saxons* buried them in this Manner, by way of insulting them. The Victory *Cuthwulf* obtained, which *Camden* mentions from the *Saxon Annals*, might occasion this Memorial. The Town of *Lygeanburb* was taken by *Cuthwulf*, which *Camden* believes rather to have been *Leighton Beaufesert* in this County, than *Loughborough* in *Leicestershire*, as had been thought. The River *Lea* is by the *Saxons* called *Ligean*, which has the same Pronunciation as the first Syllable of *Leighton*. *Lygeanburb* in the *Saxon Annals* may be the same as *Ligetune*, mentioned by *Henry Huntingdon*. It may, indeed, mean *Luton*, but since we have in *Florilegus*, that called in *Latin* *Luitonia*, we may well enough admit the other to be *Leighton*.

At *Kaynoe* upon this Military Way, from *Ravensborough* to *Sandy*, is an old Fortrefs of Earth, which seems to me *Roman*, both from its Situation upon the Military Way, and from its being exactly in the Form of others I have seen. I believe it to be one of those made by *Ostorius* or *Agricola*. Here is a Keep standing upon the Brink of a boggy Ground. Without it, towards the South, are three Semicircular Retrenchments, whose Ditches are all drawn into one, and determine in the Moor.

According to *Dr. Holland*, the Honour of *Amptill* was an Appendage to this of *Kaynoe*. And *Amptill* Mr. *Camden* makes a Gift of *Edward IV.* to *Edmond Grey*, Lord of *Ruthyn*, being forfeited by *Sir John Cornwall*, Baron of *Fanbope*, who had erected a noble House there, out of his *French* Spoils, and lost it for taking part with the *Lancastrians*. *Kaynoe* is still in the Possession of the Duke of *Kent*.

This would make one question the Account given of the Castle of *Fotheringay* in *Northamptonshire*,

tonshire, built by *Edward III.* according to *Camden*. He saith, that King made the highest Fortification or Keep thereof, in Form of a Horse-Fetter, which was the Device of the Family of *York*. I believe the Meaning must be, the outward Retrenchment was in that Form. For the Keep could hardly be useful in that Form. And the Retrenchment next to the Ditch of the Keep might be the highest, as it is at *Kaynoe*, the exterior ones being lower and lower. If so, this of *Fotheringay* was fortified after a more antient, and perhaps, a *Roman* Model.

When we come at *Sandy*, we have no Room to doubt our being upon *Roman* Ground, though Tradition hath imposed some things upon us, which a View of the Place will set right.

Mr. Camden takes it to be the *Salenæ* of *Ptolemy*, one of the two Cities of the *Cattieuchlani*, according to that Geographer. In this he is followed by all the World, who have had Occasion to speak of it; first, because the writing of *Salndy* comes so near *Salenæ*; next, because it is assuredly *Roman*; lastly, because they have no other Place for *Salenæ*. The first and last are the two Points I am to enquire into, taking the second for granted. The first, *Camden* builds upon a bare Supposition, that the spelling of this Name is *Salndy*. His Modesty goes no farther than this, *If Salndy be the true Name, as some have affirmed to me.* I could never hear, though I have asked, that in any Charter, Grant or Writing, it hath been other than *Sandy*. The Soil is Sand, it lies upon that Girdle of Sand which crosses the County from *Gangay* to *Brickill*.

As to the third Difficulty, *Salenæ* may, with a fairer Pretence be fixed at *Brockley Hills* in *Middlesex*, which Station is called *Sulloniaca*, meaning, I presume, *Sulloniaca Castra*. The Village called
Shenley

Shenley, in *Doomsday* written *Senlai*, joins to these *Brockley Hills*, which carries more of the *Latin* Name in it than *Sandy* does.

There is a Field in this Parish called *Chesterfield*, where the Coins are found. In it is a Hill called *Tower Hill* by the Inhabitants. They shew us, at a little Distance, *Gally Hill*, and across a small Valley *Cæsar's Camp*. This *Gally-Hill* is the *Roman* Fortrefs. About thirty Acres here are inclosed by an Earth Wall and Ditch. The Form is irregular, because it is to suit the Top of the Hill, which of it self is defended by Nature. The North and East make two Sides of a Square. The West hath a Jutting out towards the River *Ivel*. In the Middle is a *Tumulus*, such as is seen in many Camps, probably for the *Prætorium*.

What they call *Cæsar's Camp* is almost level with the rest of the Country. About twenty Acres lie in Holes and Hillocks, which they imagine to have been a City, of which the Foundations being dug up, have left the Ground in this rude Form. This could not have been a City from the want of Water. It is not to be imagined the *Romans*, sagacious to the Admiration of Posterity, should have built a Town on the wrong Side their Camp, which could have had no Water, when on the other Side, where the present Vill of *Sandy* stands, the River *Ivel* would have supplied them. The modern Names of *Gally Hill* and *Cæsar's Camp* are taken up through Mistake. That of *Gally Hill* may have been once called *Cæsar's Camp*, as the Fortrefs at *Keston* in *Kent*, our *Noviomagus*, is at this Day. Some of the Moderns have been fond of attributing every thing *Roman* to *Cæsar*.

The Reason of the Unevenness of the Ground of *Cæsar's Camp* seems to be from digging there for a Quarry. A sort of coarse Stone is now to
be

be seen at the Edge of the Hill, another towards *Chesterfield*, once a Fox-Earth, which went by the Name of the *Brazen Doors*. And *Cæsar's Camp*, probably, is nothing but a Quarry exhausted for making the *Roman Agger* through the low Grounds from the Ford of the *Ivel* towards *Bedford*; for the Stone was hardly fit for building.

The Name of this Station I take to be *Magiovinium*, which *Dunstable* hath been allowed a Right to. The Dean of *York* gives the various Reading of *Magiovintum* and *Magintum*. The first of these hath nothing different but the (i) turned into a (t) which might easily happen. Mr. *Baxter*, by a Privilege, I think of *Knight-Errantry*, calls it, without any Body's *dixit* but his own, *Magiodunum vel Magnus Collis*. He admits, however, the Dean's Etymology from the *British* of *Campi candidi*. Such, indeed, are the Fields about *Sandy*, and remarkably so at the Time of Year when they are best worth looking at. The Soil of *Dunstable* is White, from its Chalk. These from the Rye they bear, for they will not produce Wheat.

From *Sandy* the *Watling Street* carries us to *Bedford*, where it passes the *Ouse*, and leads on to *Newport Pagnell* in the County of *Bucks*, and thence to *Lactoredum*, seventeen Miles, as saith the *Itinerary*.

Mr. *Camden* hath once fixed *Magiovinium* at *Ashwell* in *Hertfordshire*, but for want of a better Agreement with the Distances of the *Itinerary*, moved it to *Dunstable*.

Let us see what Pretence *Dunstable* hath to *Magiovinium*, indeed to anything Roman, except the *Ikening Street* leading through it, in its Course from the *Chiltern* to *Baldock*. The two Reasons generally given are, its standing upon the *Watling Street*, and the old Work near it, called *Maiden Bower*.

Bower. It is thought to stand upon the *Watling Street*, because it is in a direct Line from *Verulam* to *Laetorodum*. This might pass if the Scheme were consistent with the Numbers of *Antoninus*. And so sacred are those Numbers yet maintained by our best Authors, that although they break through them themselves, 'tis with great Remorse, and it is a Liberty they will not allow to others.

The Distance of the *Itinerary* is thus,

| | | |
|--------------------|---|--------------|
| <i>Laetorodo</i> | | <i>M. P.</i> |
| <i>Magiovinio</i> | — | XVII. |
| <i>Durocbrivis</i> | — | XII. |
| <i>Verolamio</i> | — | XII. |

Here are just twelve Miles more than the Way comes to. Mr. *Camden* making *Dunstable* *Magiovinium*, would find *Durocbrivæ* about *Redborn*. Mr. *Baxter* would find it at *Woburn* in *Bedfordshire*. He also interprets the *Saxon* Name *Dunstani Villa*. This seems taken up for mere Similitude of Sound, without any Ground for supposing a *Villa* here, or *St. Dunstan* honoured in it. If any thing had been in Memory of Archbishop *Dunstan*, it must have been within a hundred Years of the *Confessor*, in whose Reign *Turnoth* had the Guard of the Country, and something would have remained of it.

Dr. *Gale* would carry *Durocbrivæ* to *Hertford*, interpreting the *British* Name *Aquarum Concurfus*, and thence bring the Military Way to *Verulam*, to save the Honour of the Figures of *Antoninus*. Dr. *Stukely*, for the same Reason, would make a *Diverticulum* to *Berkamsted*, and carry his Military Way thence to *Verulam*. With Submission, I cannot find any thing *Roman*, either at *Hertford* or *Barkamsted*, except a Military Way passing through

through the former. These two Places will be described in their proper County.

The Authority we have for the *Watling Street* passing through *Dunstable*, is chiefly from the History of that Monastery, which saith, the Town stands upon the Meeting of the *Watling* and *Ikening Street*. This is quoted by *Camden*. If this had been the *Roman Street*, what we find the Abbot *Leofstan* did, would have been done by the *Romans* long before. In his Life he is said to have cut down and stocked up the Woods on the Edge of the *Chiltern*, to have levelled the rugged Ways, and made them fit for Travellers.

The inclosed Ground of *Maiden Bower*, consisting of about nine Acres, is, by *Dr. Stukely*, supposed *British Work*. He compares it to that of *Asbwell* in *Hertfordshire*, having a *Vallum* without a Ditch, like the other. Such another is to be seen on *Wilbury Hill*, near *Ickleford*, in the same County. These have not the Advantage of Situation the *Romans* ever aimed at, when they could get it ; to be upon the highest part of the Hill, if they were upon a Hill at all, that they might do the Office of *Exploratores* ; and to be a little inclining to the South-East Sun.

As to the Name, *Dr. Gale* produces Instances of the Name *Mayden* at *Dorchester*, *Bowes*, *Whel-lep Castle* ; at the two first *Mayden Castle*, at the last *Mayden Way*, all upon the Military Way. He takes *Mayden* for a *British Word*, and believes *Bowr* to be from *Burgus*.

If we go to the *Saxon* we have *Mayden*, signifying what at present it does with us. As these inclosed Places are defended with a *Vallum*, to keep the Crowd at proper Distance, they may have been used for Exercise and Sports. As the Exercises of the Sexes were different, the Places appointed

appointed for them might be so too. There are, at this Day, in some Counties, Sports used upon certain Holydays or Festivals. Those of the young Men might not want any Inclosure, such as Running, Volting, Leaping, Pitching the Bar, Coits, and the rest. The Lasses had their Dancing, Ball, and the like, particularly on *May Day*. From whence it may be as well derived, as from the other. The *Don* or *Dune*, the Hill upon which the *May Day* Sports were used. *Bower* may be a Corruption from *Beorg*, a Rampart, or *Beorgan*, to defend.

Another Objection against *Dunstable*'s being *Roman*, is the want of Water. I never saw a Station half a Mile from good Water. Here is none but from the muddy Ponds of the Street, which contain it many Months for the Use of Cattle. It falls from the Hills after Rain, and the Chalky Bottom keeps it from soaking into the Earth. This Town seems to have been built meerly for a Road Trade. After *Leofstan* had cleared it of Wood, and made the Way passable, this being a nearer Cut from *Northamptonshire* to *London* than the *Watling* Street, had most Travelers upon it, as at present. For the Use of these they contrived Wells, and fetched up Water from a great Depth, such as the *Romans* would not have laid themselves under a Necessity of doing, whose Business, as *Exploratores*, might be as well performed from a Situation where Nature had furnished, at no Expence or Trouble, Plenty of it.

As to the Name of *Dunstable*, we may, perhaps, be let into it from the ridiculous Etymology of the Monks, in the private History of their Foundation, quoted by *Camden*. "It is to be observed that Structure, at the meeting of the Way of *Watling* and *Ikening*, was first contrived

“ contrived by *Henry* the Elder of that Name,
 “ King of *England*, to prevent the Mischiefs of
 “ one *Dun*, a famous Robber, and his Gang,
 “ and that from this *Dun* the Place was called
 “ *Dunstable*. ”

It is not to be supposed, that since there was any Government in the Island, a notorious Rogue should have his Settlement undisturbed, and a House or Stable in which he resided, in Defiance of Authority. It may be from the *Hill-Stable*, or Stable upon the *Dune*, or *Hill*. And such we may believe there was, by Appointment of *Leofstan*, who gave the Manor of *Flamstead* in *Hertfordshire* to *Thurnoth*, a brave Knight, who had *Waldeof* and *Thurman* under him to guard the Road from Robbers. *Thurnoth* made himself answerable for all that People were robbed of upon this new-made Road. The Fastnesses of the *Chiltern* being proper sculking Places for Thieves, the principal Guard was probably set near it. They might have a House to keep Watch at, which being upon a Hill, was of most Service to them. Here they could keep their Horses for Pursuit, and here Travellers might find Shelter when they were in Danger. The greatest Part of this Building might be a Stable. And, perhaps, at first there was only a Stable. The Word is not *Saxon*, but might obtain as a *Latin* Word.

The new *Camden* mentions a Gold Mine discovered in this County, three Miles from *Amptbill*, not many Years since.

This must be meant of *Pullockshill*, where, about thirty Years ago an Experiment was made to that Purpose. What the Intimations were that gave Hopes of such a Treasure, I don't remember. They dug to a great Depth, and timbered the Passage all the Way. The first they brought

brought up after the common Earth of the Country, looked like a Mixture of Clay and Iron Ore, or Smith's Cynders. Lower they found a heavy yellowish Mineral like Talc. But the Project was soon given over.

If the Conjunction of the proper Planets had brought about this Discovery in the Age of *Bubbles*, what might not have been expected from hence? *Bedfordshire* Gold might have been pronounced by Voice of *Stentor* in *Change-Alley*, in Strains as charming as *Welsh Copper* and *Hot Air*. It might have had its Share of the Lives and Fortunes of the People, as many to hang or starve for it as any of the rest.

What *Merlin* could have foretold the Trade of the *Exchange* carried over to an Alley? That from an Alley should break out such an Inundation of Misery upon a wealthy and sagacious People? That the dark Oracles of Fate should be given out from uninspired *Tripes*, to make them believe every thing they hear, nothing they see? That a Game was to be taught them, in which all were to be Winners, none Losers?

One would imagine *Virgil* describing the Place in his sixth Book of the *Æneis*, translated by *Dryden*;

*Before the Passage horrid Hydra stands,
And Briareus, with his hundred Hands:
Gorgons, Geryon, with his triple Frame;
And vain Chimæra vomits empty Flame.*

The COMMONS of this and other Counties cannot be passed through, without reflecting upon the Difference between the past and the present Times. The Right and Property of them all was in the Lord of the Manor: The Use of them for his own Cattle, for those of his Tenants, his

Cotarii, his *Servi*, as *Doomsday* Book calls them, and the Poor. We may see the Property and State of Things under the *Saxons*, by the Conqueror's Account in *Doomsday*. For he there inquires into the Hundreds, Parishes, Manors, Number and Condition of the Inhabitants. He demands in what State things were under *Edward* the Confessor, what was the Value and Profit of the Lands, Mills, and other things, and the present and past Estimation is there registered.

I observe no Difference unless in the Change of Lords, which, except spiritual Possessors, were altered the whole Kingdom thro'; and in the new Tenures, and the Services under which the Lands were held. Some were held immediately from the Crown, some at second hand from those the Crown had made Masters of them. There was then no middle sort of People, but all great or small, as at present in *France*. The Earls, Barons, Bishops, Abbots, were the only landed Men; the rest were a sort of Servants to them. These were not paid in Money, but Lands, to which they were Tenants, to do Service for their Lord. They had some Ground to occupy for themselves, in Consideration of the Work they were to do for him. They were to plough his Ground for him, to mow and reap for him, and carry in his Harvest at their own Expence, receiving, in some Places, Meat and Drink in Harvest, without farther Pay. These *Cotarii*, *Servi*, *Villani*, *Bordarii*, (*Villani*, at length, became a general Name for them all) supported themselves upon the Profit of the Lands assigned them, together with the Privileges the Lord allowed of feeding some Hogs in his Woods in Paunage Time, and grazing some black Cattle and Sheep upon the Waste.

These *Cotarii*, *Villani*, *Servi*, when they grew old and past their Labour, made a Shift to live
upon

upon the Profit of their Commonage, which required little more than Care and Attendance.

The Rise of numerous Freeholds was from the Opposition of the Barons to the King, who used their Wits as well as their Swords against him. For thus they could ingratiate a great Number of the fighting Men on their Side, upon the Liberty with which they invested them.

They have not every where a Right of Commoning. But when so much Land was in the Freeholders, the Number of the meaner sort was the less, and they might more easily be stript of those Privileges they enjoyed. The Freeholders could furnish Corn for the Market, and the others grew less necessary to the Commonwealth than they had been. These were then reduced to be Servants to the Freeholders, and lived upon that *Modicum* their new Masters would allow, who made harder Bargains with them, and kept them to harder Meat, than they had been used to. For their antient Lords had lived in a grand and hospitable Manner, by which every Dependent fared the better, whilst no private Fortunes were to be raised out of the Profit of those Lands these Men of Drudgery manured.

At length came upon the Poor two severe Articles ; the first was Inclosure, by which great part of a Manor was separated, and let to farm, into which the Commoners were no longer admitted. This has been a Grievance complained of in the last Century, but as it improved the Rents of Lands, found no Redress. The other was overstocking the Commons, and so starving the Poor out of them. A couple of old People, or a Family with a great many Children, were half maintained by a Common before their Cottage, which maintained them a Cow, or a few Sheep. It is now the Practice of the Farmers to bring on their

Flocks hungry out of the Fold, upon these Commons in a Morning, which leave nothing behind them, and then are put into the Inclosures to make up their Meal. So that the Cottagers Cattle, who have no other Subsistence, must starve.

This was one part of the Charity of the Monasteries, to allow the Poor grazing in their Woods and Waste, which was equal to the Relief they had at the Almonry.

It has been an antient Practice, and may be observed in the Benefactions of many a Parish, to leave a Sum of Money for a Stock of Cows to lend out yearly to the Poor, without Hire. And where Commons are left, and there is no Oppression upon them, a little of that Superfluity which is expended in Trifles, would, thus employed, make the Heart of many a poor aged Cottager rejoyce. The Lands that have been recovered from Inundation, particularly in the Course of the *Lea* thro' *Hertfordshire* and *Essex*, have been given by our Kings for the Use of the Poor, in some the whole Year's Profit, in others, after Mowing-time.

I am aware of an Objection that will be made to this ; that it is observable the greater the Common, the more Poor : In this there is some Truth. But to these two Causes it is owing ; first, that the Farmers eat them up : That they have a Notion of enjoying the Profit of that Ground which is devoured to their Hands.

The second is, that the Stewards of great Men let in such Numbers upon the Waste, to build Cottages, as cannot be employed in Husbandry. A Village is overstocked with them, and many must depend altogether upon the Profit of the Common.

This Pretence of increasing the Lord's Quit-Rents, hath spoiled many a fair well-built Town. One after another prevails to have a Spot upon the Waste to build a House, till they become a Nuisance

Nuisance to the Community, and to one another, and fill the Streets with Nastiness.

In the Reign of *Edward III.* that King was petitioned for a Spot upon the Waste at *Hoddesdon* in *Hertfordshire*, to build a Chapel upon, for the Use of the Inhabitants, who were above a Mile from a Parish Church. It could not be obtained without a Jury to return a *Quod Damnum* to the King, or his Subjects. They wanted but thirty Foot in Length, and twenty in Breadth, yet had it not granted till the Jury brought in the Land *Nullius Valoris*.

It is melancholick to think of the Servants in Husbandry, the Day-Labourers, who are the most useful to a Community, that instead of improving in their way of living, as 'Prentices to all Trades do, they go backwards, and in the Middle and latter Part of their Life, fare worse than they did in Farm-Houses when they were Boys. They are in as bad a Condition as the *Servi* or Slaves of the *Saxon* and *Norman* Times; who, tho' they had Lands and Goods, these were none of their own, but their Lords had the sole Property in them. The Distinction *Spelman* in his *Glossary* makes between them, is but of *Prædial* and *Personal*; the latter had nothing but what was their Lords, the other held their Lands and Goods too at the Will of the Lord. The Servants of Husbandry at present, the Cottagers, have neither Lands nor Goods.

'Tis as much too late to enquire into the Reasons of the Poverty of the Servants in Husbandry, as of the Occasion of a Fire after it hath burned down a Town. Yet it is natural to ask whether by Lightning, Carelessness or Malice.

The Inclosures that have been made, and the raising of Rents on Condition of appropriating the Commons to the Use of the Farmer, may, in a

great measure, account for the Increase of the Poor, who have now nothing but the Sweat of their Brows to trust to, which in Age and Sickneſs muſt fail.

Nor is the Increase of their Wages proportioned to the higher Price the Neceſſaries of Life at all times bear. The Caſe of the antient *Villani* was more ſecure. If they had Lands to Till, they had always Bread-Corn of their own producing. Whereas it ſometimes happens that the Week's Wages will do no more than bring in ſimply Bread for the Week, and all the reſt muſt be wanted.

Nature would teach us, that the human Drudges of Husbandry ſhould have the ſame fair Chance with the Brutes. The latter are maintained in a dear and a cheap time alike, that they may be able to work. The other, one would think, ſhould no more be *muzzled*, but have the ſame Proportion of Corn at the ſame Price, be it dear or cheap, becauſe their Wages will never reach higher than bare Neceſſaries. And this were no more than the Allowance to Cattle, a Pittance of that they are instrumental and neceſſary to produce. If the Increase of Wages were equal to the Increase of the Price of things, without which they cannot ſubſiſt, they would be upon the Level with Cattle. Their Wages are little higher than they have been in the Memory of Man, in thoſe Counties where they are advanced, and in moſt Counties they are not advanced at all. Their Expences are much advanced in the Duties upon almoſt every thing they buy, except Bread. And if this brings them to the Pariſh Maintenance, thoſe very Eſtates that have been increaſed in Rent, muſt, at length, decreaſe in Value by the Burthen of the Rates, and the Method by which they were raiſed, may appear in the Main no good Husbandry.

To which may be added, the Loss of that Spirit in the Vulgar, which was useful to themselves and to the Publick : That Spirit of Frugality and Labour by which they improved their Stock from the smallest Beginning. There was some Encouragement to the industrious Peasant, when he had a little he could call his own, which by Care only, that cost him nothing, produced a yearly Increase.

On the contrary, when they know themselves able to rise no higher than keeping Life and Soul together, when they know there is a Provision for them against absolute Starving, their Ambition is at once cut off, and they shake off that Care that hath no Reward. A lazy, supine Temper comes in the Room of it. As they do nothing for themselves, they do nothing for their Masters, but what Necessity whips them to. They indulge in their Children Sloth and Thieving, for want of that Business the Children of past Ages were employed in tending their Cattle on a Common, by which they were brought to think themselves Owners, and to keep up the Spirit of an *English* Clown.

Even the *Negroes* in the Plantations are allowed some Encouragement to better their State, by Time given them after their Masters Work is done, to employ themselves for their own Benefit.

The Difference is considerable between the Poor of *Holland* and *Muscovy*. The former goes cheerfully on, having the Privilege of laying up something for himself ; the other gives this indolent Account of himself, *I have nothing but what belongs to God and the Czar.*

The Land has been sufficient to maintain both its Lords and their Servants ; the first in Splendor, the other above Distress. Might one not have expected, that the modern Improvements of Husbandry should have made an Addition to both?

By the new Methods of Manuring, Draining, Fallowing the second Year, sowing Grass, Turneps, Woad, Coleseed, Linseed, Rape, and the like, for Oils, the Value of Land has been much increased. The Difference in some Places is as great as between a dear Season and a cheap one. Some of these Improvements too have been upon Lands of little Value, which is still a greater Advantage. Yet as the Land grows richer, the Instrument of that Increase, the Labourer, grows poorer; and, by being a Burthen to the Improver, may bring him to the Repentance of *Midas*;

*Ad cælumque manus & splendida brachia tollens,
Da veniam Lenæe pater, peccavimus, inquit,
Sed miserere precor, speciosoque eripe damno.*

Ovid Metam.





A N
EXAMINATION
OF THE
BRITISH COINS

Produced in

Camden's Britannia;

With the Foundation of a Conjecture, that
they are not BRITISH, but brought in by
the ROMANS and the SAXONS.

Addressed to Sir *ROBERT ABDY*.

S I R,



IF I were not well assured of your
Candour, as well as Knowledge of
Antiquity, I should not address you
with a Conjecture that looks like an
Attempt to demolish one of the most
antient Monuments of *Britain*. I am convinced
you would, with the Spirit of an *English* Gentle-
man, embrace any Discovery for the Honour of
your Country; that you would be pleased to find
Learning

Learning and Arts to have been as early in the Island, as the Zeal of a credulous Age has admitted. But you will be content to view it in its sincere Glories, stript of that *Fucus*, and imaginary Lustre, with which fabulous History hath adorned it.

The Account given by *Cæsar*, is so very different from the Notion the present Age hath received of the antient *Britons*, that the one or the other must be given up. I do not find the Commentaries disproved, either in Natural History, or in the Relation of the Manners, Custom, Religion, Wars of that People. They are evidently written, not with a View of amusing the World with Things strange and unheard-of, but with that Exactness that later Inquiries have confirmed and added to their Reputation.

In these he was not interested to deceive his Reader. The Exception that hath been taken to his Veracity, is from *Lucan's*

Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis ;

and from the Courtiers of *Claudius* his Reign, who to magnify the Feats of the second Invasion, were to lessen the Progress of the First. But even here they have proved nothing against him. The exact Distance from the Coast of *Kent*, to his Passage of the *Thames* at *Coway Stakes*, before he engaged *Cassibelan*, and the River's being fordable there, are Circumstances in his Favour. And *Strabo's* Relation of the *Britons* being Tributary to *Augustus*, proves *Cæsar's* Conquest as considerable as himself has represented it.

Cæsar affirms, that the Money used by the *Britons*, was only Brass or Iron Rings, which passed by Weight.

On the contrary, it is a received Opinion, That their Princes coined Money, with their Head on
one

one Side, and some Device on the Reverse, as the *Romans* did. Some of these Coins have been described by Mr. *Camden*, others by Mr. *Walker* and Mr. *Thoresby*, with the Conjectures of these Great Men upon them. In the new Edition of *Camden* are two Plates, the First contains Thirty-three, the other Thirty-nine.

From *Camden's* Time they have been looked upon with Pleasure; and he that could hit upon any thing to explain and illustrate the Design of them, thought himself Fortunate. Whereas all seems to be owing to the Satisfaction of seeing our Country make a Figure so many Ages ago, and to the Joy of discovering what was concealed to others.

He that reads Mr. *Pope's Rape of the Lock*, expounded by the Apothecary, finds the Sense so capable of Perversion, and Dr. *Sacheverel* so plainly described in it, that at first he would imagine the Piece written with that View.

The Keeness with which our Antiquarians have followed the low Scent they have, and the ingenious Progress they have made, is surprizing. They would have established, if it had been possible, Truth upon a Foundation of Error.

The Objections I have to the Coins being *British* are these. First, The Inscription is in *Latin* Letters. There is not indeed so much Room for the Question, Whether they had a *Latin* Alphabet, or a *Runic*, as whether they had any at all? There are no Traces of Learning amongst them. If any were Men of Letters, we must suppose the *Druids* most likely to be so. Yet the *Roman* Historians constantly say, The Mysteries of their Religion were not written, but conveyed by Oral Tradition. *Cæsar* is the only one that mentions their using the *Greek* Character upon other Occasions. And this Assertion *Selden* takes to be a Mistake, and to have crept by some means into the Copies.

Next,

Next, The Names, as they are read for us, are not according to the *British*, but *Roman* Spelling. The *British* Names of Men, Towns, and Rivers, were latinized by the *Romans*, and very different from what the *Welsh* write or pronounce them. Yet the Writing upon the Coins is read according to the *Latin*, with which the *Britons* at that Time were not acquainted.

Thirdly, *Cynobeline* hath far the greatest Number attributed to him. We hear nothing of him, nor of the rest but from *Roman* History, and he is there set forth no greater than the rest of the Princes, though so many of the Coins are his.

Again, these very Coins inscribed *Cuno* or *Cunobelin*, have many different Faces, and cannot be supposed to represent the same Man.

Lastly, They are of Gold or Silver, which Metals, we are told, the *Britons* had not. Nor are there any on Brass which we are assured they had.

I shall examine some of them in their Order, by which it will best appear, upon what Foundation the Conjectures on them are built. Admitting them indeed to be *British*, the Exposition is admirably good, but that is the Point in Question.

The First hath two Faces, which *Camden* interprets of *Janus*, because *Britain* under *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, began to be refined from Barbarity. To this Mr. *Walker* excepts, and if they must mean *Janus*, would rather apply it to the shutting up the Temple of *Janus*, by which the *Britons* received a Benefit. He would rather have them young Womens Faces, the Wives, Sisters, Daughters of *Cynobeline*. Under the Faces is *Cuno*, on the Reverse *Camu*, which passes for a Proof the Coin is *Cynobeline's*, coined at *Camulodunum*.

The Second hath a single Face, with *Cuno Bilin*. Reverse a Mint-Master sitting, and inscribed

scribed *Tascio*, which in *British* is said to signify a Tribute-Penny.

This expressing Tribute on the Money it was paid in, is more than was known perhaps in any Age. *Augustus* appointed his Tribute to be paid in his own Coin. If *Cynobeline* did the like to his Subjects, it is hard to say, whence Silver and Gold should have been furnished for that Purpose. Mr. *Walker* is of Opinion, that the *Sancti Petri Moneta*, was not coined for *Rome-scot* or *Peter-Pence*, but that it was the ordinary Coin of the Archbishop of *York*, whose Cathedral was dedicated to *St. Peter*.

The Fourth hath *Ver*, which is interpreted coined at *Verulam*.

The Seventh, which hath *Tasc Novanci*, is thought to be the Tribute Money of the *Trinoantes*, or of an unknown City of *Cynobeline*.

The Eighth has *Boduo*, which is thought to relate to *Boadicea*, or the Country of the *Boduni*, though this last by our Criticks is read *Dobuni*.

The Ninth hath scattered Letters, making together *Cearatic*, out of which is found *Caractacus*, in *British* *Caradoc*.

The Tenth with *Rex*, under a Horseman, and *Com*. on the Reverse, is attributed to *Comius Atrebatensis*. But what *British* Prince was called *Rex*?

Rex again is on the Eleventh, and *Calle*. Whence *Calle-va* is understood, a Roman Station, erected long after the Time of *Comius Atrebatensis*.

The Twelfth hath a Figure of a winged Head, such, Mr. *Camden* saith, as the Roman Image of Victory, on their Coins, inscribed *Ateula*; Reverse a Lion inscribed *Ulatos*. Here Roman History leaves us in the Lurch. What he calls a Lion, seems an Unicorn; and by the Liberty taken of reading

reading backward or forward, as the Letters are expressed from the Plate, the latter Word may be as well read *Soluta*.

The Fourteenth is *Vanoc*, read by Mr. *Walker* *Vano. C.* or *Vano Civitas*.

How well *Civitas* squares with *British* Language, I need not say.

The Fifteenth, with *Durnaco*, Mr. *Camden* is not hardy enough to attribute to *Dummacus*, a Prince of the *Andes*, mentioned by *Cæsar*. Mr. *Walker* saith *Durnacum* is *Tournay*.

The Sixteenth hath *Orceti*, more like an *Italian* than a *British* Name, nor is that latinized by the *Romans*.

The Letters of the Nineteenth, which are read *Cassibelan*, will as easily make Antichrist.

How the Twentieth comes to signify *Kymboline*, Son of *Theamantius*, Nephew of *Cassibelan*, I cannot conceive; or that the aukward Figure on Reverse, as like to a Dragon as a Sphinx, should be upon his Coin, because a Sphinx was a favourite Representation to *Augustus*, in whose Court *Cynobeline* resided. If the same Pains had been taken to find the Longitude, it would probably have been discovered by this Time.

Arivog. on the Twenty-fifth, is both by Archbishop *Usher* and *Speed*, taken for *Arviragus*, tho' *Ononus* on the Reverse is not guessed at.

The Difficulty they find in the Twenty-seventh, believing it to be a Christian Piece, from the Cross upon it, is not great. It may be Christian, but in such a Variety of Figures, 'tis no wonder a Cross should accidentally come in.

Mr. *Walker* himself gives up the Twenty-ninth, believing the Figure to be a Fortification, which Dr. *Plot* takes for the Heads of *Prasutagus* and *Boadicea*.

He also acknowledges the Thirty-first, on which we read *Eburo*, and make sure of *York*, to be a *Gallick* Coin signifying the *Eburovices*, or rather *Eburones*, Inhabitants of the Country of *Liege*.

The last he attributes to *Auscb* in *Gascoigne*.

The First of the second Plate, is from the Decoration of Pearls thought a *British* Head; but this is a slender Support, though countenanced by *Cæsar's* Present of them to *Venus Genetrix*.

The Fourth is boldly pronounced *Cassibelan's* Head, from three Letters making *Cas*.

The Evidence for the Seventh is, that the Head is rough and uncombed, therefore a *British* King.

The Eighth, if a Galley with Oars hath nothing to do with *Britain*.

The Letters *BR*. upon the Thirtieth, will not prove any Thing, unless we can prove the Name of *Britanny* assumed by the Inhabitants, and not given them by Strangers. The *Welsh* still call themselves *Cameri*.

The Nineteenth hath on Reverse an Elephant, whereas *Claudius* is the first, that we are told, shewed them here, and even that is questioned.

The Twenty-third is a Foot-Soldier in Armour and Helmet, unused by the *Britons*.

The Thirtieth having a Warrior in his Chariot on Reverse, we are to think of *Arviragus*.

The next inscribed *Luccio*, if attributed to King *Lucius*, must be later than the *British* Kings already mentioned; and probably the Time fixed for *Lucius's* Reign, is unhappily after the Island was reduced to a Province. I would propose a Composition with those that assert a *British* *Lucius* was the first Christian King; that he was a Prince of the Blood Royal.

The whole Strength of the Cause seems to lie in the Coins of *Cynobeline*. The Name on several is pretty

pretty near the *Roman* Way of Writing, varying a little, sometimes *Beline*, sometimes *Bilin*.

If this Evidence were dropped, the Whole falls to the Ground, for the Conjecture of the rest is supported merely by this. And if we suppose all those on which we find *Cuno*, to represent the same Person, he hath as many Forms as *Proteus*. If *Cynobeline* sinks

————— *de Cemone Britanno* .
Excidet Arviragus —————

With due Submission I take most of these Coins to have been brought hither by the first *Saxons* that settled here. Whether amongst them they passed as Money, or were preserved as Medals, 'tis not material. They seem to belong to the *Goths* and others that sacked *Rome*. The Reasons I give for this Opinion are; That the Words inscribed on the Coins are *Saxon* or *Gallick*; that the Devices on them are Imitations of the *Greek*, *Syracusan*, or other Eastern Coins.

To this may be added, That some of these Coins pretended *British*, are really *Roman* or *Greek* Coins, those I mean which have no Legend. And that some of them may be spurious.

As to the Words; *Cuno* is seen upon several Pieces with distinct Faces. *Cuno* in *Saxon* will signify Royal, and asserts, perhaps, that this is stamped by Royal Authority. The Horse is seen Thirty-eight times in one Shape or another, either without a Rider, or with one, or in a Chariot. What Respect the old *Saxons* had for a Horse, is notorious; they had a superstitious Regard to his Neighing, and formed a kind of Augury from it. *Hengst*, a Name not unlike *Hengist* who came over to *Vortigern's* Assistance, signifies a Stone-Horse. In the Thirtieth of the second Plate
of

of *British* Coins, which our Antiquarians would attribute to *Arviragus*, for the Sake of

————— *De temone Britanno*
Excidet Arviragus —————

is so far from being a fighting Chariot, that there is not Room for two Persons to stand in it, one to fight, the other to manage the Horses, as was always the Custom. From *Homer* this appears upon the Choice a Warrior gave to his Companion, that he might either fight or drive; and the Necessity of the Thing requires it, for they were different Parts which the same Person could not perform. *Cæsar* tells us they would with great Agility run upon the Pole of the Chariot, fight on Foot, and retire to their Chariot, which could not be done without somebody left to hold the Horses. Farther, upon a Chariot-Horse being killed, it was always the Method to cut off the Harness; and this could not have been done by the Man that was maintaining the Fight.

If we compare this Thirtieth Coin with those struck upon a Victory at the *Olympic* Games, we find them exactly the same. There is only a Pedestal for the Driver to stand upon, from whence he can use his Reins and his Whip for a Race, but no Room for two Persons, one of which is to manage Darts and a Spear. He stands behind, with his Head upon the Level with the Horses Heads, and must have their Heads in his Way if he were to fight placed so low. In the *Greek* Coins we see the Driver just so placed.

Spanheim, pag. 547. *De præstantiâ & usu Numismatum antiquorum*, exhibits one with a Man's Head. Above it is *γελωνος*, and under it *συρακυσσις*: Reverse a Racing Chariot, in all Points like this of our *British* Coin. He goes on with the History

of him — *Gelonem Dinomenis filium Geloum dedicasse (currum Aneam) qui vicerit Olympiade 73.*

Page 551. We have the Name of Hieron, the next King of Sicily after Gelon, under these Racing Chariots. On one is a Horse without a Chariot, with his Fore-Feet up, as in the Twenty-first of the second Plate of *British Coins*; under it is *Ιερων*.

Spanheim proceeds, *De Hierone utique & quidem hujus nominis primo qui post Gelonem fratrem Syracusis totique Siciliae praefuit, eoque Olympionica itidem ac Pythionica fidem, abunde praestant praeter luculentos earum victoriarum praefones, Pindarum aut Bacchylidem plerique ejus iique sat magno adhuc numero superstites nummi.*

The Nineteenth of the second *British Plate*, hath on Reverse an Elephant. It is of Brass, and seems originally Roman. *Spanheim*, pag. 163. gives us not only the Matter of Fact, but the Design of impressing an Elephant. *Ut hac insuper dicam, munificentiam apud Romanos eam principum sub Caesaribus laudem proprie denotasse. — Quæ res cum aliunde tum maxime, ex nummis Antonini Pii & Severi, obvia in quibus Leonis vel Elephantis symbolo eadem exprimitur.* He produces a Silver Medal of *Titus Vespasian*, with an Elephant on Reverse.

Another he gives us of an Elephant carrying a Torch in his Trunk:

Above him *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ*
 ΑΥΣΤΟΥ

Below him *ΕΙΣΙΦΑΝΕΣ*
 ΔΙΟΓΕΝΕΣ

He instances in what *Suetonius* relates of *Cæsar*:
Adscendit quo ad limina quadraginta Elephantis dextrâ atque sinistrâ Lychnicos gestantibus.

By some is mentioned *Elephas* λυχνοφορΘ. And some Roman Medals have them *Loricati*, in Honour of *Lucius Metellus*, who, saith *Spanheim*, *primus Elephantas primo bello Punico duxit in triumpho*.

Suetonius in *Nerone* ; *Ludis pro æternitate Imperii susceptis notissimus eques Romanus Elephanto supersedens per catadromum decucurrit*.

How much these Devices suited the unpolished Britons 'tis easy to determine.

Pegasus was also on Greek Coins, sometimes single, sometimes with *Bellerophon* upon him. The first we have on the Eighteenth of the first *British* Plate, with *Tasce* written under him ; on the Averse *Cuno* within a Wreath.

Bellerophon I take to be upon him in the Twenty-seventh of the same Plate. The Head which is laboured into *Arviragus*, seems in the Dress of an Eastern Monarch. If the Cross was designed to express his being Christian, it may be of later Date than some others ; but the Cross that is upon it may be without any such View.

We have the *Luna Bicornis*, and Stars frequently upon these supposed *British* Coins. These are all well known to have been used by the *Saxons*. Here is a Star under the Unicorn in the twelfth Coin of the first Plate. Such *Spanheim* observes under two of those called Αλεξανδρæ *Nummi* ; one hath a Star, another a Shield. Page 127. *Luna bicornis in Nummis gentis Claudiæ, Minuciæ, Sempronix*.

Farther it is observable, that these *British* Coins are in Design so very like the more modern Coins of the *Saxons*, during the Heptarchy and Monarchy both, that one is evidently taken from the other. On the *British* Reverse sits frequently the Mint-Master. On the modern *Saxon* the Mint-Master's Name is mentioned generally on the Reverse, as well as the Place of Coining.

The Words most frequent upon these Coins are, *Cuno*, *CUNOBILINE*, *CUNOBELIN*, *Tascio*, *Tascia*, *Tasc*, *Camu*.

Cuno, as I have remarked, signifies in Saxon, Royal, or the King's Coin.

Biline, or *Belin*, may, or may not, be a different Word.

I have already said, that if *Cuno* related to one Person, he had a great Variety of Faces. There are Names of Men, Rivers, or Towns in Germany and Scandinavia, that bear a Resemblance to this. *Hofman's* Lexicon gives us *Bilicon* German *Bilikeim* *Locus Hercyniæ Sylvæ vicinus*.

Bilina *Lacus* & *Fluvius Succia* in *Sunbedâ* *regiunculâ*.

Billena *Amnis Germaniæ in Vagriâ* *ortus Saxoniam inferiorem ab Holsatiâ dividit, post ad Hamburgum in Albim cadit*.

Billingius Hermannus, *vir nobilis, seu ut alii volunt illustri prosapiâ oriundus* — *Neque vero Saxoniam solum Billingii sed & Holsatiam tenuere, post eosdem Witikindeos quibus etiam in Saxoniâ suspecti sunt*.

The Place where these Pieces were coined might have a Name like this; or the Value of the Piece might be understood by it; or the Mint-Master.

The same *Hofman* helps us something farther: *Billio* *Gall. Billon*, *Hispan, Vellon nummus æreus est, vel ex ære & argento conflatus, interdum Massa Monetaria*.

It seems to me that our Term of Bullion comes from hence.

Hofman goes on under the same Head; *Statuta Philippi Pulchri Regis Franciæ, A. C. 1305. Ne quis Aurum, Argentum, vel Billionem extra regnum nostrum deferre præsumat*.

Taschia by *British* Interpreters is brought in Tribute. They seem here to strain a Point. As rough as the *British* is, some of the Moderns have made it as malleable as, according to *Hudibras*, *Pythagoras* made Musick. They have, in short, made it speak every Thing they wanted, and furnish out Etymologies for the Names of Places given as late as the *Saxon* Times.

Du Fresne in his Glossary hath quoted *Camden* for this Interpretation of *Taschia*, who, by the help of *David Powel*, hath made it the Tribute-Money of *Verulam*, because one Piece hath *Ver.* upon the adverse Side.

The same *Du Fresne* admits it to be an old *Gallick* Term. Any Man that considers it, will find its Writing and Pronunciation both to be nearer *French* than *Welsh*. *Taschia vox est Gallica vetus quam pro præstatione agrariâ postmodum usurparunt nostri.*

His first Instance is from a Charter of one of our *Norman* Kings, which is as much to the Purpose as if he had quoted it from the Continent.

Tbasca in legibus Henrici Primi Regis Angl. cap. 78. Charta An. 1065. Petrus Ranoardus dedit unam modiatam de terrâ cultâ & incultâ Deo & S. Mariæ cum Tasca & Decimo. Here must be a Mistake in the Name or Date, for this Prince ascended not the Throne till above 30 Years after.

Charta Bernardi Archiep. Arelat. An. 1139. in Tabulario Archiepiscopatus Arelat. Fol. 109. Istius etiam prænominati honoris Decimas atque Taschas sine omni impedimento retinemus.

Taschas etiamnum Hispani dicunt. Andreas Bosch dels Titols. de honor de Cathalunya, lib. 5. pag. 553. Quant als delmes, primicies, y taschas, gosol en especial los de Cathalunya.

From these Words seems to come our *English* Task. For as *Tascha* goes along with Tythes, as
a Bur-

a Burthen upon an Estate, it may have also comprehended those Services that Villains, Cotairs, Bordars, who held of the Lord by base Tenure, were obliged to perform in Husbandry.

Camu is a Word more in the Dark than the rest. I can more readily believe it the Name of a Place, or the Name of a Piece of Money in *Gaul*, *Saxony*, or *Scandinavia*, than that the *Britones incompti* (as they are called, to make out one rough Head in the second Plate theirs) had a Mint at *Camulodunum*. *Camulodunum*, whilst a *British* Oppidum, according to the best Accounts, was but a rude Place, defended by an Earth Wall, and, perhaps, a Fall of Trees. The Inhabitants have left no other Proof of their Knowledge in Arts and Sciences.

I would rather fly to an *Arabick* Interpretation, because it's possible the Language of the *Gauls* had some Words in common with it. *Hofman* finds amongst the *Arabs*, *Kamala*, to signify *Dominari*.

The Galley we see in the *British* Coins may be Imitation of the *Greek*, if not originally such.

What was the Practice of the *Goths*, and other Northern Nations, who sacked *Rome*, I produce from *Spanheim*, pag. 555.

Gottthorum equidem in Italiâ Regum qui Justiniani Imperatoris ætate illam Imperii Romani sedem. & arcem, seu ipsam Urbem æternam occuparunt, Theodorici, Athalarici, Theodabati, Witigis, Totilæ seu Baduellæ, & Theiæ Regum nummos vulgarunt ac illustrarunt cum elapso paulo ante, tum quod illud præcesserat seculo Viri præclari Octavius Strada, Paruta, Du Cange. In quibus autem nummis Athalarici, & successorum cum gemmata Justiniani Imperatoris effigiis cum Aug. seu Augusti Appellatione in alterâ eorundem parte subinde conspicitur; tum quod mirari forte subit galeatum Romæ Caput cum eodem veteris & quidem invictæ Urbis elogio Roma invicta, quæ tamen ætate a barbaris illis Gottthorum Regibus

bus eadem fuerat expugnata, in eorumque jura concesserat.

Equibus autem nummis comprobatur Romani Imperatoris appellatione quam ante Theodoricum Odoacer adsumpserat abstinuisse eundem ejusve Successores, Regis appellatione contentos, qui & Clementissimi Imperatoris, aut Clementissimi principum ut vel e Cassiodoro constat titulis uti in his ad Anastasium & Justinianum Litteris consueverant. Adde quod non gemmata solum diademata sed Mitra etiam seu Tiara eaque gemmis itidem seu margaritis contexta de quibus supra, Regum aut dein etiam Constantinopolitanorum Imperatorum more tecta sint eorum capita sicut e sequentibus Theodabati & Baduelæ Regum nummis est manifestum.

In Page 577 of the same Work, he speaks of Coins of Gallick Kings and Commanders mentioned by Cæsar; as Orgetorix, &c. and amongst them Comius Attrebates, and Britanna Bootica. This he hath from Bouteroue, or Le Blanc, who seems in that Point deceived by English Antiquarians.

Some of these British Coins have an Inscription in Runic Letters. More of the same I have heard of in Cumberland, which is the Reason of questioning whether the Britons used the Runic Character.

If Cynobeline were the first that had impressed Money, the Coins ascribed to Cassibelan, to Dum-macus, Prince of the Andes, to Comius Attrebatensis, must be given up, because these were contemporary with Julius Cæsar. And the two latter had no Power that we hear of in Britain.

Though Cunobeline whilst he lived in the Court of Augustus, might see Coins struck with that Emperor's Head upon them, after the Example of Julius, the first Roman that did it; and though he might be pleased with following their Fashion, thereby asserting his Royalty, there is little Reason to think the Nation so much enriched since the
Days

Days of *Julius*, as to have Gold and Silver in greater Plenty.

The *Roman* Emperors were content with Copper for their Money, why should *Cunobeline* aim at Gold and Silver, which they did not, whereas he had the other? I presume, what we translate Brass, means Copper. *Cæsar* says of the Britons, *Utuntur Ære & Annulis ferreis pro nummo*. Again, *Utuntur Ære importato*. They might import Gold and Silver as well as Copper, but the Product of the Island would easier procure the latter.

Copper was chiefly used by the *Romans*, and *Æs* from thence became a Name for Money.

Of the *British* Coins on the two Plates, not above one in ten is Brass or Copper.

We have no Coins pretended of *Adminius*, *Togodumnus*, or *Prasutagus*, though the latter is by *Tacitus* said to have had great Treasure, and to have made *Nero*, and his Daughters, his Heirs.

It is observable, That on the Seventh, and on the Twentieth Coin of *Cynobeline* is a Woman's Head; the latter inscribed *Cuno* only, though there was Room for the whole Name.

I am, SIR,

Your most Obedient

Humble Servant,

Stortford,
May 24. 1729.

N. SALMON.

The END of the FIFTH PART.

